1149

NARRATIVE,

of a five years' expedition, against the

Revolted Negroes of Surinam,

in GUIANA, on the WILD COAST of

SOUTH AMERICA;

from the year 1772, to 1777:

elucidating the History of that Country, and

describing its Productions, *Viz.*

Quadrupedes, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, Trees, Shrubs, Fruits, & Roots;

with an account of the INDIANS of Guiana, & NEGROES of Guinea.

By CAPTN. J. G. STEDMAN.

strated with 80 elegant Engravings, from drawings made by the Author

VOL. II.

445

"O quantum terræ, quantum cognoscere cœli
Permissum est! pelagus quantos aperimus in usus!
Nunc forsan grave reris opus; sed læta recurret
Cum ratis, et carum cum jam mihi reddet Iolcon;
Quis pudor heu! nostros tibi tunc audire labores!
Quam referam visas tua per suspiria gentes!"

Valerius Flaccus.

don. Printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard, & J. Edwards, Pall Mall. 1796.

1749

CONTENTS.

CONTENTS of the SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER XVI. Page 1.

A Reinforcement of fresh Troops arrives from Holland—Encampment on Mount Magdenberg, in Tempatee Creek—Remarkable Instance of Lunacy in a Negro—Mountains—Beautiful Views—The Sick sent to Europe.

CHAPTER XVII. Page 25.

New Instances of unprecedented Barbarity—Occurrences on Mount Magdenberg—Prices of Provisions at Paramaribo—Description of a new Animal—Great Mortality amongst the Troops in Tempatee and Comewina River.

CHAPTER XVIII. Page 48.

A Tyger taken in the Camp—Fatal Rencounter of a Party with the Rebels, who killed several of the Troops, and forced the rest back—Description of a Planter of Surinam—Contagious Distempers—Suicide—Scene of primitive Nature.

CHAPTER XIX. Page 65.

The Troops march to Barbacoeba, in the River Cottica—Frenzy Fever—Gratitude in an English Sailor—Description of the Government of Surinam—Some Account of the Emigrant Americans during the late War—Scene of unprecedented Generosity.

CHAPTER XX. Page 87.

A Rebel Negro described—Bush-fighting—Sentimental Expressions of the African Blacks—The Town of Gado-Saby taken by Colonel Fourgeoud — Superstition — Wonderful Expedients—Great Generalship in the Enemy.

CHAPTER XXI. Page 118.

Spirited Conduct of the Rangers and Rebels—A Skirmish—Scene of brotherly Affection—The Troops return to Barbacoeba—Plan of the Field of Action—A Slave killed by the Oroocookoo Snake.

CHAPTER XXII. Page 137.

Alarm in the Pirica River—A Detachment marches to its Relief—Ambuscade—Wonderful Effect from the Biting of a Bat—Scene in a Quagmire—Sketch of the Inquisition and Return of the Troops to Cormoetibo Creek.

CHAPTER XXIII. Page 160.

Second March to Gado-Saby—Account of a living Skeleton—Beautiful Landſcapes—The Commander in Chief falls ſick, and leaves the Camp—Some Rebels taken—Diſcourſe on the Exiſtence of Mermaids—Heavy Rains—Diſeaſe—Famine—Miſery.

CHAPTER XXIV. Page 185.

Two Volunteer Companies raiſed, of free Mulattoes and Negroes—Deſcription of the Arrowouka Indian Nation—Colonel Fourgeoud's Regiment receives Orders to ſail for Europe—Countermanded—Re-enter the Woods—Trade of the Colony—Deſcription of a Cacao Eſtate—Sample of Sable Heroiſm.

CHAPTER XXV. Page 216.

Singular Method of detecting a Theft—Rencounter between the Rangers and Rebels—Amazonian Action of a black Girl—Wonderful Sagacity in wild Bees—The Regiment receives a ſecond Order to return to Europe.

CHAPTER XXVI. Page 241.

The Troops on Board—Again ordered to diſembark—Great Dejection—Mutiny—Inſolent Conduct of an Owca Negro Captain—Near two hundred Sick ſent to Holland—General Deſcription of the African Negroes.

CONTENTS.—VOL. II.

CHAPTER XXVII. Page 291.

The Rape of the Sabines—Shocking Execution, and African Fortitude—Description of an Indigo Plantation—The Spanso Bocko, a Punishment—The Troops again re-enter the Woods—The Expedition draws to a Conclusion.

CHAPTER XXVIII. Page 314.

The Rebels fly for Protection to Cayenne—Third March to Gado-Saby—A second Re-inforcement of Troops arrive from Holland—Shipwreck of the Transport Paramaribo—March to Rio Comewina—Dismal Picture of Distress and of Mortality—The Peace of the Colony restored.

CHAPTER XXIX. Page 345.

Some Account of a remarkable Negro.—The Troops prepare for Europe—Description of a Coffee Plantation—Plan of Reform for the Increase of Population, and universal Happiness—One more Instance of horrid Barbarity; and Example of Humanity.—The Regiment embarks.

CHAPTER XXX. Page 381.

The Ships weigh Anchor, and put to Sea—Review of the Troops—Account of the Voyage—The Arrival in the Texel—Description of the Pampus near Amsterdam—Final Debarkation in the Town of Bois-le-Duc—The Death of Colonel Fourgeoud—End of the Expedition—Short History of the late Scotch Brigade—Conclusion.

NARRATIVE

OF AN

EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

CHAP. XVI.

A Reinforcement of fresh Troops arrives from Holland—Encampment on Mount Magdenberg, in Tempatee Creek—Remarkable Instance of Lunacy in a Negro—Mountains—Beautiful Views—The Sick sent to Europe.

CHAP. XVI.

I NOW once more return to the principal object of my Journal, *viz.* Fourgeoud's military operations. I have before mentioned, that a supply of fresh troops was expected to reinforce our decayed little army; and, on the 30th of January, 1775, the news came to Paramaribo that the transport ship Maastroom, Captain Eeg, was arrived in the river Surinam, and come to an anchor before the fortress Amsterdam, with Colonel Seyburgh and two divisions, consisting together of one hundred and twenty men, under his command, two more divisions being expected.

The following day I went down with a row-boat to welcome them; and having dined on board together, the

CHAP. XVI.

ſhip weighed anchor, and I ſailed up with them till before the fortreſs Zelandia, where they moored, and were ſaluted by a few guns. Among the officers, I with pleaſure recollected my old ſhip-mate, poor Enſign Heſſeling, whom we had left behind us on the Helder, according to every appearance dying of the ſmall-pox, when we ſailed from the Texel, the 24th of December, 1772. This young man, who now joined us with rank of ſecond lieutenant, had been peculiarly unfortunate ſince his recovery; for, ſoon after taking a paſſage on board another ſhip for Surinam, the veſſel encountered a gale in the Bay of Biſcay; when off Cape Finiſterre, her quarter-gallery and rudder were beat away; beſides which ſhe loſt her fore-maſt and main-top-maſt. In this dangerous condition, having the wind againſt her for Liſbon, the veſſel run with difficulty into Plymouth. From this place Mr. Heſſeling took a paſſage for France, on board a ſmall ſloop loaded with coals, with which he had no better ſucceſs; for ſhe ran, through the inadvertence of the maſter, on the Caſkets, which rocks went through her bottom, and ſhe foundered immediately. Before the veſſel ſunk, however, he had time to break open his cheſt, and take out ſome linen and other neceſſaries, with which he arrived in a crazy yaul at Breſt. He now took ſhipping again for Amſterdam, on board a Dutchman; but the maſter ran the ſhip a-ground, and he had nearly been once more wrecked. Neverthele ſs he arrived ſafe at the Texel, whence he had twice in vain attempted

to

to ſet out for South America; and on this laſt paſſage it blew ſo violently hard, that all the boats, the ſheep, the pigs, and the poultry, were waſhed overboard. Till this date I had been the oldeſt officer in the corps, excepting only Colonel Fourgeoud.

On the arrival of the troops, our commander invited them to a dinner, which conſiſted of ſalt beef, pork, barley, and hard peaſe; of which I had the honour to partake, to my no ſmall amuſement, when I obſerved the ſignificant looks which were directed by theſe new-comers on their commander and his entertainment. In the evening we conducted them to the play-houſe, where the death of Cæſar, and Criſpin Doctor, were performed, the one exactly as laughable as the other. I muſt however confeſs, that I was better entertained the next day, when the governor gave to all a ſuperb dinner and ſupper, where the ſtrangers ſeemed to be as much ſurpriſed with the magnificence of the feaſt, as they had been the day before amazed with Colonel Fourgeoud's frugality.

Having met at this table with ſome excellent preſerved fruits, among which was the *guava*, I will embrace an opportunity which is barren of incident to ſay ſomething of it. The guaba, or guava-tree, grows to about twenty-four feet high, with leaves like thoſe of a plum-tree. It is light-coloured, and the wood of little conſequence; but the fruit, which is yellow, oval, and

CHAP. XVI.

about the ſize of a gold pippin, incloſes a reddiſh pulp, full of ſmall ſeeds; the pulp is very ſweet, and may be eaten raw, or made into marmalade or jelly, and then it is delicious. There are two ſpecies of guava; that which is the ſweeteſt has the ſmalleſt quantity of ſeeds.

On the 5th of February, the troops that were ſo lately landed were ſent to the upper parts of the river Comewina to be encamped. I ſpeak of the privates, for moſt of the officers remained to partake of a feaſt at the houſe of a Mr. Mercellus; by whoſe command (to crown the banquet) half a dozen negroes continued blowing the trumpet and French horn in the room where we dined, till the company were abſolutely deafened by diſcordancy and noiſe.

On the 6th, the whole corps, without exception, received orders to leave Paramaribo, and to encamp at Magdenberg, a mountain near the Tempatee Creek, in the upper parts of the river Comewina, to which, as I have juſt mentioned, the reinforcement was already diſpatched. Having, therefore, prepared myſelf to ſet out on my fourth campaign, and taken leave of my little family and friends, I repaired to the water ſide, to ſet out in the ſame barge with Colonel Seyburgh, but who, erroneouſly ſuppoſing that the troops which came with him from Holland were a diſtinct corps from thoſe arrived with Fourgeoud in 1773, made the negroes ſhove off the boat in my preſence, when I was not a ſtone's caſt from it, and left

me

View of L'Esperance, or the Hope, on the Commewine.

View of Clarenbeck, on the River Commewine.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1796 by J. Johnson St. Pauls Church Yard.

me on the beach, to my utter ſurprize and mortification. I knew Fourgeoud had ſwore that he ſhould "dance juſt "as much to his pipes as the youngeſt enſign in the re-"giment;" and in that he was perfectly right: I therefore ſtrenuouſly ſupported the chief againſt his antagoniſt, and ſetting off immediately with another boat, ſoon overtook him, to his aſtoniſhment, when we all went aſhore at the plantation Voſſenburgh, in the river Comewina. The next day we came to the eſtate Arentruſt, having paſſed the heavy barges that departed from Paramaribo on the 5th; and on the 10th we made the Hope, where having ſpent ſo many months, I here preſent the reader with a view of that eſtate, and of the eſtate Clarenbeek, where ſtill our hoſpital was kept. This day Colonel Fourgeoud alſo came up the river, and ſlept at Wajampibo.

On the 11th, we arrived at the plantation Crawaſſibo, where we paſſed the night. Here the overſeer, a Mr. De Bruyn, was ſo very impertinent, that, as I already had no abundance of affection for the fraternity of overſeers, I gave him ſuch a ſound beating that, with a bloody face, he ſuddenly decamped from the eſtate in a ſmall canoe with one negro, and in this trim, at twelve o'clock at night, like Banquo the ghoſt, appeared before the amazed Fourgeoud; who thought proper to give him no other conſolation than to diſmiſs him with a hearty curſe.

On the 12th we arrived ſafe at Magdenberg, *viz.*

 Fourgeoud,

CHAP. XVI.

Fourgeoud, the officers, and the barges with the privates. From the Hope, the eſtates now began to appear thinner; and after paſſing Goet-Accord, about ten or twelve miles farther upwards, not a cultivated ſpot was to be ſeen, the plantations having been all laid in aſhes by the rebels in 1757, as I have already mentioned, a ſmall place excepted, juſt below Magdenberg, which is, I think, called the *Jacob*, and where a few negroes are kept to cut timber. The river above Goet-accord becomes very narrow, being lined on each ſide with impenetrable bruſh-wood, like the river Cottica, between Devil's-Harwar and Patamaca; and the Tempatee Creek, which may be conſidered as the ſource of the whole river Comewina, becomes alſo much narrower. Magdenberg, which is about a hundred miles from Paramaribo, was formerly an eſtate, but has now not a veſtige of cultivation left, a poor old orange-tree excepted, and is at preſent neither more or leſs than a barren deſolate mountain.

Here we found the ſurface of the earth in ſome places covered with a kind of ſtrata, that had the appearance of mother-of-pearl, and lay ſcattered in ſmall ſcales, about the ſize of an Engliſh ſhilling. In many places of Surinam are found the marks of foſſils and ores, as I have already hinted. Indeed, iron ore is common, and I have no doubt but gold and ſilver mines might be met with if the Dutch would be at the expence, and perſevere in making the diſcovery. I have already mentioned the Marawina diamond, and white and red agate, which are

often

often ſeen in the upper parts of the river Surinam. On this mountain we alſo found the air cooler and more pure, and of courſe more healthy than in any other part of the colony.

On the 17th the news reached us, that the tranſport ſhip, the Maria Helena, with the remaining two diviſions of one hundred and twenty men; commanded by Captain Hamel, had alſo arrived in the river Surinam on the 14th inſtant. Thus the reinforcements together conſiſted of two hundred and forty men, and, on the 5th day of March, they all arrived in heavy barges at Magdenberg, where I may now ſay that Colonel Fourgeoud's whole forces were aſſembled. The ſame day one hundred negro ſlaves alſo arrived, to carry the loads when we ſhould march. One of the new negroes being miſſed from on board a military barge, and marks of blood diſcovered in it, the commanding officer, a Mr. Chatteauview, and a ſentinel, were both put under an arreſt to be tried for murder. On the ſame eventful day alſo, two of our captains fought a duel, in which one of them received a wound in his forehead.

On the 13th, a barge with proviſions, coming from Paramaribo (ſhocking to relate!) found the negro that was miſſed on the 5th at the water's edge, lying in the bruſhwood, with his throat cut from ear to ear, but ſtill alive, the knife having miſſed the wind-pipe. This miſerable apparition of ſkin and bone they took on board, and

CHAP. XVI.

brought to Magdenberg, where, by a ſkilful ſurgeon, Mr. Knolaert, the wound was ſewed up, and the man ſurpriſingly recovered, having lain nine days in that dreadful condition without any ſubſiſtence or covering whatever, and weltering in his own blood, even without a bandage. The week after I had nearly loſt my own life by an accident. Two negroes of the eſtate Goet-Accord being employed in hunting and fiſhing for Fourgeoud, one of them, named *Philander*, propoſed to me to accompany them in the wood, where we might chance to meet with ſome *pingoes*, or *poweſa*; but a heavy ſhower of rain coming on, when we had only walked two miles, we determined to relinquiſh the project, and repair to the ſmall ſpot called the Jacob for ſhelter, to gain which we were obliged to paſs through a deep marſh. Having waded till up to our arm-pits, Philander, who was the fineſt man without exception that I ever ſaw, began to ſwim, as did his companion, with one hand, holding their fowling pieces above the water with the other, and deſired me to follow them. This I tried, having nothing on but my ſhirt and trowſers; when, after ſwimming two or three ſtrokes, I ſunk to the bottom like a ſtone, with the weight of my muſquet; but relinquiſhing it, I immediately roſe to the ſurface, and begged that Philander would dive for it; who having ſecured his own to a mangrove, brought it up without difficulty. At this moment a thundering voice called out through the thicket, —" Who

—"Who *somma datty?* and another *sooto sooto da Bonny* "*kiry da dago?* Who is that? Who is there? Fire! shoot! "it is Bonny, kill the dog!"—and looking up, we saw the muzzles of six musquets presented upon us at a very little distance indeed. I instantly dived, but Philander answering that we belonged to Magdenberg, we were permitted to come on shore one by one at the Jacob, and found that these trusty negro slaves, having heard a flouncing in the water, and seeing three armed men in the marsh, took it for granted that the rebels were coming, headed by Bonny himself, for whom they had mistaken me, being almost naked and so much sun-burnt; besides my hair, which was short and curly, I entirely resembled a mulatto. Being refreshed with some rum, and having dried ourselves by a good fire, we now returned back to the Magdenberg, where I congratulated myself on my escape. CHAP. XVI.

On the 19th, Colonel Fourgeoud being now supplied with fresh troops, sent a whole ship load of invalids to Holland, who sailed this day; and on February the 26th, my dear friend Heneman also sailed for Holland, in an extremely debilitated state.

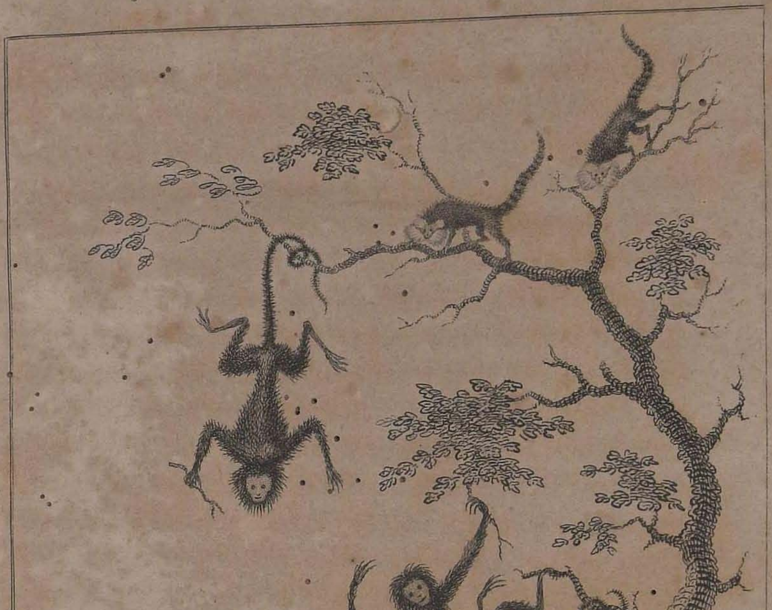
Among the troops which sailed at the same time with Heneman were several officers, not very sick, but justly disheartened and disgusted at Fourgeoud's injustice, in having stopped their preferment, as I have intimated in the end of the tenth chapter; while they now saw themselves superseded by raw youths, who were at school

[library stamp]

CHAP. XVI.

at the time they were ſerving the colony in 1772. With this veſſel failed alſo the officers whom he had put under an arreſt, the 16th December, 1774. Never was an hoſpital ſhip ſo ill provided with refreſhments.

On the 21ſt, Fourgeoud reviewed with pleaſure his recruited little army, where I was ſorry the rangers did not appear. He now diſpatched one hundred men as a patrole to reconnoitre the ſkirts of his new encampment, of which number I had the honour to be one. During this time nothing remarkable happened, except meeting with a large company of *quatas*, which being one of the moſt remarkable ſpecies of monkies in the world, from their affinity to the human race, I cannot tacitly paſs over. One evening walking with my black boy Quaco without the camp, they came down ſo low to look at us, and threw ſmall ſticks and excrements at us, that we ſtopped, and I had an opportunity thoroughly to examine them. The *quata*, or *quato*, is very large, with an enormous tail: their arms and legs being covered over with long black hair, they make a very hideous appearance indeed; the more ſo, as the creature's face is quite naked and red, with deep ſunk eyes, which gives it much the appearance of an old Indian woman. It has ſhort ears, and only four fingers without a thumb on its hands or fore feet, but it has five toes on the hinder feet, all of which have black nails. The extremity of its tail has a ſpiral turn inwardly; it is naked and callous, by its frequently



Blake Sculpt.

The Quato & Saccawinkee Monkeys.

London, Published Dec.r 2nd 1793 by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

12

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL.

quently hanging to the branches of the trees; for when so employed, it serves the animal as a fifth limb. Most wonderful is the agility of these monkies in swinging from one tree to another, but I never saw them leap. Their throwing short sticks and excrements seems to be no more than a mimicking of the human actions without any purpose, as they neither have strength to throw far, nor dexterity to hit their objects, and if they befoul them it is by accident only. But what appears peculiarly remarkable is, that when one is hurt by a musket or arrow, the poor animal instantly claps its hand on the wound, looks at the blood, and with the most piteous lamentations ascends to the very top of the tree, in which he is assisted by his companions; where, hanging by the tail, he continues to bewail his fate, till by the loss of blood he grows totally faint, and drops down dead at the feet of his adversaries.

CHAP. XVI.

It is not so extraordinary that one of this species, when wounded, should be assisted by his companions in climbing; but that they should have so much knowledge in botany, as to procure vulnerary herbs, and chew and apply them to the wound, is what I cannot credit, though it is so confidently asserted by a late traveller: and as to the assistance they give in passing a river, by holding each other's tails, and swinging till the lowermost is thrown up to the branch of a high tree, though I have a great opinion of Ulloa, who relates it, and has given a print of

CHAP. XVI.

it in a vignette; ſince he does not ſay he ſaw it himſelf, I muſt take the liberty to doubt this fact*, and even what he ſays he witneſſed.

I muſt here mention another monkey that I ſaw at Colonel Fourgeoud's houſe, which is in Surinam called the *wanacoe*, and is covered over with long black hair, like the quato; but its limbs are ſhorter and more hairy, and its face is a kind of dirty white. This monkey is the only one of the ſpecies that is not ſociable, being conſtantly found alone; and ſo deſpicable is this ſolitary animal, that he is continually beaten and robbed of his food by all the others, from whom he is too lazy to eſcape, though too cowardly to fight.

Of the long-haired monkies, the *ſaccawinkee* is the ſmalleſt; indeed, I may ſay of all the monkies in Guiana;

* It is moſt probable, that Ulloa took the account from Acoſta's Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies. This is his account, taken from a tranſlation printed in 1604.

"They leap where they liſt, winding "their tails about a branch to ſhake it, "when they will leap farther than they "can at once; they uſe a pretty device, "tying themſelves by the tails one of "another, and by this means make as "it were a chain of many, then do they "launch themſelves forth."

Acoſta does not ſay he ſaw this himſelf; but to the following he profeſſes he was an eye-witneſs. Theſe are his words—"I *ſaw* one in Carthagene, in "the governor's houſe, ſo taught, as the "things he did ſeemed incredible. They "ſent him to the tavern for wine, put"ting the pot in one hand and the money "in the other; they could not poſſibly get "the money out of his hand before he "had his pot full of wine. If any chil"dren met him in the ſtreet, and threw "ſtones at him, he would ſet his pot down "and caſt ſtones againſt the children, till "he had aſſured his way; then would "he return to carry home his pot. And, "which is more, although he were a good "bibber of wine, yet he would never "touch it till leave was given him."

Guiana, if not in the world, being not much larger than a Norway rat.

This is a beautiful little animal, with blackiſh grey frizzled hair, a white face, and very bright ſhining eyes; its ears are large and naked, yet they are not very perceptible, being covered by the very long and white whiſkers that grow round the whole viſage of this little creature: its feet are not unlike thoſe of a ſquirrel, and its tail is buſhy and annulated. So very delicate is the ſaccawinkee, and ſo ſenſible of the cold, that ſcarcely one of them is brought to Europe alive, and if they are they very ſoon pine and die. The Dutch call them the *ſhagarintee*, from their being chagrined at the ſmalleſt trifle. In the annexed plate, I have delineated both thoſe monkies, the large quato, and the ſmall ſaccawinkee, thus endeavouring to correct with my pencil the deficiency of my pen.

On my return to the Magdenberg, I narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed to death by an enormous tree, which dropped by age juſt at my feet. Theſe accidents frequently happen in the foreſt; this, however, only ſlightly wounded two or three of our marines. During this trip we had much rain, and were obliged to croſs over a ſmall creek. We cut down one of the palm-trees on the water's edge, which falling acroſs the river formed a temporary bridge.

I now paid a viſit to the miſerable negro who had been found with his throat cut, and who was ſo well as to

be

CHAP. XVI.

be able to converſe; when he declared to me, that he committed this violent action with his own hand. The ſuſpected officer and ſentinel were, therefore, inſtantly acquitted. I aſked him by what reaſon he had been incited to ſuicide? and he anſwered—" None."

" I have," ſaid he, " as good a maſter and miſtreſs as I " could wiſh, and a family of my own that I much love: " I had ſlept ſound during the whole night till about " four o'clock in the morning, when awaking I took my " knife to pick my teeth with it, and inſtantaneouſly cut " my throat without knowing why; but the moment " after repented of what I had done. I then roſe from my " hammock and got into the canoe to waſh myſelf, and " try to bind up the wound, but ſtooping over the ſide " and bleeding very faſt, I turned faint and fell into the " river. I was now no more able to get on board, or to " cry for aſſiſtance. However, by ſtruggling, I made ſhift " to get on ſhore, where I fell down and lay helpleſs, till I " was picked up by a boat going to Magdenberg; during " all which time of nine days I had my perfect ſenſes, " and ſaw a tamanoir or ant-bear come to ſmell the pu- " trid blood about my neck, who, on ſeeing me move, " retired into the foreſt."

I gave the poor man ſome Boſton biſcuits which I had got from Paramaribo, a large calibaſh with barley to make him ſome ſoup, and alſo ſome wine. This negro appeared to be about ſixty years of age.

I now to my ſorrow received a letter from Mr. Ken-

nedy, who was preparing to viſit Holland, requeſting that my boy Quaco might be returned to his eſtate. I accordingly ſent him down with a letter, offering to buy him of his maſter as ſoon as it ſhould be in my power to pay him.

On the 2d of April, Colonel Fourgeoud ordered all the ſick remaining in the colony to Magdenberg, where he had erected an hoſpital and a large victualling magazine. Thus all the invalids from Clarenbeck arrived here, with ſurgeons, apothecaries, attendants, &c.: and here, in fact, as I ſaid, the air was more healthy. At this period the old gentleman was particularly ill-natured, and abuſed both friend and foe without diſtinction; ſwearing, that not a ſoul ſhould be exempt from duty, provided they could but ſtand on their legs. About this time a ſtrong detachment was ſent to the eſtate Bruyinſburgh in Comewina, where an inſurrection was expected, the ſlaves refuſing to work upon a Sunday; to which, however, they were driven by the laſh of the whip.

It was now in the midſt of the rainy ſeaſon, that Fourgeoud declared his intention of ſcouring the woods; and, in conſequence, gave orders for two ſtrong columns to march the next day. The reaſon for chuſing this ſeaſon was, that if he could now diſlodge the rebels they muſt ſtarve for want, which would not be the caſe in the dry months, for then the foreſt abounds with fruits and roots of many kinds. This was, however, in my opinion, a falſe piece of generalſhip; if it be conſidered on the

other

CHAP. XVI.

other hand, the dreadful havock which the wet weather muſt produce among his troops, of which he killed, I ſuppoſe, at the rate of twenty to one rebel negro.

Fourgeoud was himſelf of a very ſtrong conſtitution, having been uſed to hunting and ſhooting the whole of his life-time: to which he added temperance, and the daily uſe of his beloved *tiſan*.

His dreſs conſiſted of nothing but a waiſtcoat, through one of the button-holes of which he wore his ſword: on his head he wore a cotton night-cap, with a white beaver hat above it, and in his hand a cane; but he ſeldom carried his muſket or his piſtols. I have ſeen him all in rags and bare-footed, like the meaneſt ſoldier.

On the morning of the 3d of April, at ſix o'clock, the two columns ſet out upon their march, the one commanded by Colonel Seyburg, the other by Fourgeoud; to which laſt I had the honour to belong. Our poor men were now loaded like aſſes. They were ordered to put their fire-locks in their knapſacks, of courſe the muzzles excepted: this was to keep them from the rain, which abſolutely poured in torrents. Our courſe was ſouth by eaſt, up among the banks of the Tempatee Creek, where we ſoon came to ſwamps, and were marching in the water above our knees.

During the firſt day's march we met ſome very pretty ſquirrels, which are of ſeveral kinds in this country. Thoſe that we ſaw were brown, with the belly white, the tail not ſo buſhy; nor were they, upon the whole, ſo large

§ as

as thoſe of Europe. There are alſo white ſquirrels in this country with red eyes, and flying ſquirrels. Theſe, it is well known, have no wings, but a membrane between the fore and hinder leg, being a part of their ſkin, which, when they leap, expands like the wing of a bat, and by this, like a parachute, they reſt upon the air, and in their flights are carried to a conſiderable diſtance.

On the 4th of April we marched again, our courſe ſouth by eaſt, till two o'clock, when we changed our courſe to ſouth-ſouth-weſt.

This day we paſſed by piles of fine timber, that were left there to rot ſince 1757, when the eſtates were demoliſhed by the negro ſlaves who were in rebellion. Among theſe were the *purple-heart-tree*, the *iron-wood-tree*, and the *bourracourra*, known in England by the name of Brazil.

The purple-heart-tree grows ſometimes to the height of fourſcore feet, and thick in proportion, with a ſmooth dark brown bark; the wood is of a beautiful purple colour and an agreeable ſmell, and is much eſteemed on account of its weight and durability.

The iron-wood-tree, ſo called from the gravity and permanent quality of its timber, grows to about ſixty feet in height, with a light-coloured bark. It is much valued by the natives as well as the Europeans, on account of its hardneſs in particular (reſiſting even the hatchet), and for taking a moſt beautiful bright poliſh. This wood ſinks in water.

The

CHAP. XVII.

The bourracourra, or brazil, grows to between thirty and forty feet high, but not very thick, with a reddiſh bark. The heart only of this tree is valuable, after the white pithy part is cut away, though then it is much diminiſhed. This wood is as truly beautiful as it is uſeful, the colour being a fine crimſon, variegated with irregular and fantaſtical black ſpots, from which, by the French, it is called *bois de lettres*. It is heavy, hard, and durable, though rather brittle, and is capable of taking the brighteſt poliſh; this laſt is ſcarce in Guiana, but the others are more plentiful, growing on the higheſt grounds; where alſo is found ebony. The heavy trees, being ſhaped into timbers for ſugar-mills, are chiefly ſent to the Engliſh Weſt India iſlands, and often ſold for the price of fifty guineas each piece.

The word of command being again given on the 5th, we unſlung our hammocks, then marched ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth by eaſt, through deep and dangerous marſhes up to our breaſts in water, and in very heavy rains; in which helpleſs ſituation we were ſuddenly alarmed, not by a party of rebels, but by a company of large monkies, which we diſcovered in the tops of the trees, knocking a kind of nuts againſt the branches to break them for their contents, with the greateſt regularity, as it were keeping time alternately at every ſtroke, while ſome of them threw down their burthens; and a nut falling from a conſiderable height, broke the head of one of our marines. The ſound of breaking theſe nuts, we had miſtaken for the rebel negroes cutting wood with an axe.

In

In the evening we encamped near the Tempatee Creek; where we made large fires, and built comfortable huts; thus this night we ſlept protected from the wet. Here we found the beſt water I ever taſted: and in the camp I ſaw two remarkable lizards, the one called the *devil of the woods*, and the other *agama*, in this country. The firſt is an ugly ſmall lizard of a deep brown or blackiſh colour, which runs with amazing ſwiftneſs up and down the trees; it has no ſcales, a large head, and it is ſaid to bite, which is ſuppoſed to be an uncommon property in a lizard. The other is called the *Mexican cameleon*, which is remarkably ſplendid; and, like others of the kind, is endued with the property of changing its colour; but of its nature and qualities I can ſay little more, having never had the opportunity of a cloſe examination. In Surinam there is alſo a ſpecies of lizard, known by the name of *ſalamander*, which alſo I never ſaw.

On the 6th we marched again, keeping due weſt till twelve o'clock, through very heavy rain and deep water; when we changed our courſe to the north, and paſſed over very high mountains, by many ſuppoſed to be pregnant with treaſure.

> " Rocks rich with gems, and mountains bright with mines,
> " That on the high equator ridgy riſe;
> " Where many a burſting ſtream auriferous plays:
> " Majeſtic woods of every vigorous green,
> " Stage above ſtage high waving o'er the hills."

THOMSON.

The

CHAP. XVII.

The two higheſt mountains in South America, are that peak of the Andes called *Chimborazo*, which meaſures 20,460 geometrical feet above the ſurface of the South Sea; having, though under the line, 4000 feet of its ſummit continually covered with ſnow. The other is that, on the ſlope of which is built the city of Quito, at the heighth of 9,370 feet, and is thought to be the higheſt inhabited land in South America, if not in the world.

We ſtill continued marching north, on the 7th, over mountains, from which, at intervals, we had undoubtedly the moſt enchanting proſpects, as well from the wildneſs of the country, as the beautiful variegated verdure diſplayed in ſo many different ſhades through this amazing foreſt. Here I ſaw a bird which is called a *woodcock*, which appears to have much of the colour of thoſe in Europe, but which flew very heavily; I was however informed, that it can run with incredible ſwiftneſs. But the objects which moſt attracted my attention were the *arnotta-trees*, a few of which we met with: of theſe I have copied one of the twigs with great exactneſs. This tree, which is alſo called the *rowcow*, or the *orlean-tree*, and by the Indians *coſſowee*, may rather be ſtiled a ſhrub, as it does not grow above twelve feet in height. The leaves are greener on one ſide than the other, and are divided by fibres of a reddiſh brown colour, as is alſo the ſtem; the pods, which are as large as a ſmall hen's egg, are briſtled like the outer huſk of a cheſnut. At firſt they are a beautiful roſe colour, which, as they

Sprig of the Arnotta, or Roucon Tree.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard.

ripen, changes to a dark brown, when they burſt open and diſplay a rich crimſon pulp, in which are contained ſeeds that are black, like thoſe of a grape. The uſe of this pulp I have already deſcribed, when ſpeaking of the Aborigines or Indians; and now I preſent the reader with a view of it, though from neceſſity on a ſmall ſcale:—*A* is the leaf above; *B* the ſame below; *C* the pod before it is yet ripe; *D* the ſame ripe, and expoſing the crimſon pulp; *E* the black ſeed covered over with part of the pulp. Here again I muſt take the liberty to obſerve, that the *rowcow* plant, exhibited by the celebrated Madam Merian, is very unlike the original that I ſaw; and to my great ſurprize ſhe ſays it grows on a large tree.

Having croſſed an arm of the Mapanee Creek in the evening, we once more returned to our camp at Magdenberg; Mr. Noot, one of our officers, and ſeveral others, were ſo ill, that they were carried in their hammocks upon poles by the negro ſlaves, and a great number were ſo very weak that they could ſcarcely ſupport the weight of their emaciated bodies; but to complain of ſickneſs was to mutiny, till they dropped down almoſt ready to expire. During this expedition, in which we ſtill perceived nothing of the enemy, I was remarkably fortunate, having neither ſuffered by fatigue, nor been perſecuted by extraordinary bad uſage. The ſucceeding day Colonel Seyburg's column arrived, having, like us, ſeen no appearance of the rebels.

On the 9th, my boy Quaco returned from Paramaribo;

his

CHAP. XVII.

his maſter, Mr. Walter Kennedy, having, to my great joy, ſold him to me for the ſum of five hundred Dutch florins, amounting with the expences to near fifty pounds, for which Colonel Fourgeoud very civilly gave me a bill on his agent. The payment of this faithful ſervant's ranſom, of courſe revived my impatience for the long-wiſhed moment of emancipation of my poor Joanna and her boy; from whoſe new maſter I had not yet received any anſwer.

While we continued here, a negro brought me a beautiful butterfly, which I copied with all the correctneſs I was maſter of; and which I ſaw ſince in Madam Merian's collection, where it is coloured very ill. This fly was a dark blue tinged with green, and variegated with ſpots like a peacock's feather, and on each wing it had a ſpot of pale yellow; the under part of the wings were a charming crimſon and purple; the body a pale red.—The caterpillar is green and yellow; it is crowned with eight horns on the head, and has two on the tail. About the ſame time Captain Fredericy returned alſo from traverſing the woods. He had a corporal drowned by ſlipping off a tree in croſſing over a creek; which accident frequently happened, but the men were generally picked up, except this poor fellow, who ſunk to the bottom inſtantly with all his accoutrements.

Another negro alſo brought me a regale of *groe-groe*, or cabbage-tree worms, as they are called in Surinam.

§ This

The Blue & Crimson Butterfly of South America.

The Groo-groo, or Palm Tree Worms.

This reptile is produced in a tree called the *mountain-cabbage-tree*, which is one of the palm ſpecies. The worm grows to the ſize and thickneſs of a man's thumb, is produced from the ſpawn of a black beetle, and is extremely fat. However diſguſting to appearance, theſe worms are a delicious treat to many people, and they are regularly ſold at Paramaribo. The manner of dreſſing them, is by frying them in a pan with a very little butter and ſalt, or ſpitting them on a wooden ſkewer. In taſte they partake of all the ſpices of India, as mace, cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, &c. Several ſpecies of theſe worms are produced in all the palm-trees when beginning to rot, but ſome are larger than others. They are all of a pale yellow colour, with black heads. In the plate annexed are repreſented the above-mentioned fine butterfly, and the cabbage-tree-worm, both of the natural ſize, taken from the life. By the Indians and negroes they are called *toecoema*.

On the 13th, a detachment departed for La Rochelle in Patamaca, and the following day a captain was ſent with a few men back to the Hope, in Comewina, to protect the eſtates in that river.

On the ſame day, the miſerable old negro who had cut his throat on the 5th day of March, but had ſince recovered, was ſeen by ſome ſlaves to enter the wood with a knife, from which he no more returned, being ſoon after found ſtabbed to death. We were afterwards informed by his maſter, that for ſome time be-

CHAP. XVII.

fore he had attempted to do the ſame almoſt regularly from month to month.

On the 17th, the detachment returned from La Rochelle, where the troops of the Society were all ſick.

Colonel Fourgeoud now treated me with the greateſt politeneſs. And at his earneſt requeſt I preſented him, on the 20th, with various drawings, repreſenting himſelf and his troops ſtruggling with the hardſhips annexed to the ſervice they were ſent on; and which drawings he told me were intended to ſhew the *Prince of Orange* and the *States* a ſpecimen of what he and his marines did undergo in the foreſts of Guiana.

He now gave me leave, for fourteen days, to go to town to wiſh Mr. Kennedy a proſperous voyage to Europe. Availing myſelf therefore of his good humour, I left Magdenberg within one hour, and made ſuch diſpatch that I came to Paramaribo on the 22d, where I found my friends and little family all well, at the houſe of Mr. *de la Mare*, to which they were immediately ſent from that of Mr. Lolkens, who had, during my laſt abſence, entertained them, and treated them with the greateſt attention and hoſpitality.

CHAP. XVII.

New Inſtances of unprecedented Barbarity—Occurrences on Mount Magdenberg—Prices of Proviſions at Paramaribo—Deſcription of a new Animal—Great Mortality amongſt the Troops in Tempatee and Comewina River.

CHAP. XVII.

THE firſt viſit I now made was to Mr. Kennedy, to bid him farewel; I then paid five hundred florins for the black boy, for which he gave me a receipt, and Quaco was mine. About this time I fell ill with a fever, which however laſted but a few days. Walking out on the 1ſt of May, I obſerved a croud of people along the water-ſide, before the houſe of Mr. S—lk—r, where appeared the dreadful ſpectacle of a beautiful young mulatto girl, floating on her back, with her hands tied behind, her throat moſt ſhockingly cut, and ſtabbed in the breaſt with a knife in more than eight or ten different places. This was reported to have been the work of that infernal fiend, Mrs. S—lk—r, from a motive of jealouſy, ſuſpecting that her huſband might fall in love with this poor unfortunate female. This monſter of a woman had before drowned a negro infant merely for crying, as I have ſaid; nay, ſhe was accuſed of ſtill greater barbarity, were greater barbarity poſſible. Ar[illegible] e

CHAP. XVII. day at her eſtate to view ſome negroes newly purchaſed, her eye chanced to fall on a fine negro girl about fifteen years of age, who could not even ſpeak the language of the country. Obſerving her to be a remarkably fine figure, with a ſweet engaging countenance, her diabolical jealouſy inſtantly prompted her to burn the girl's cheeks, mouth, and forehead with a red-hot iron; ſhe alſo cut the tendon Achilles of one of her legs, thus rendering her a monſter of deformity, and a miſerable object as long as ſhe lived: the poor victim not knowing what ſhe had done to deſerve ſo ſevere a puniſhment.

Some of the negroes now repreſenting to this lady the many cruelties ſhe daily inflicted, and ſupplicating her to be of a milder diſpoſition; it was reported that ſhe inſtantly knocked out the brains of a Quaderoon child, and cauſed the heads of two young negroes, its relations, to be chopped off, for having endeavoured to prevent her; theſe heads, when ſhe had left the eſtate, were tied in ſilk handkerchiefs, and carried by the ſurviving relations to Paramaribo, where they were laid at the feet of the governor, with the following ſpeech:

"*This*, your Excellency, is the head of my ſon, and "*this* is the head of my brother, ſtruck off by our miſ-"treſs's command, for endeavouring to prevent her mur-"ders. We know our evidence is nothing in a ſtate of "ſlavery; but, if theſe bloody heads be a ſufficient "proof of what we ſay, we only beg that ſuch perni-"cious acts may be prevented in time to come; in ac-

"knowledgment

"knowledgment of which we will all chearfully ſhed "our blood for the preſervation and proſperity of our "maſter, our miſtreſs, and the colony."

To this humble and pathetic remonſtrance the anſwer was, that they were all liars, and ſhould, as ſuch, be flogged round the ſtreets of Paramaribo; and this moſt iniquitous ſentence was executed with the greateſt ſeverity.

Such is the conſequence of the law of the colony, that the teſtimony of a negro is never to be taken. Had any one white perſon been preſent at the above carnage, the evidence would have been good, but even then this fury would have eſcaped by paying a fine of fifty pounds for each murder.—But enough—my ſoul ſinks within me while I dwell ſo long upon the ſubject.

On the 2d of May, being again perfectly recovered, I took leave of Joanna and her Johnny, for thus he was named after myſelf, though the ceremony of baptiſm could not yet be performed; they now continued at my friend De la Mare's houſe, whilſt I ſet out once more for Magdenberg in a tent-boat with ſix oars.

On the 3d, I called at Egmond, on my French friend Monſieur Cachelieu, and next day ſtopt at Oranjebo or Ornamibo, where I was heartily entertained by my old adverſary Captain Meyland, with whom I had fought at the Wana Creek. But now this gentleman declared, that he loved me better than any man in the colony. He was juſt returned from a twelve days cruize through the woods.

CHAP. XVII.

Among his men I recollected one Cordus, a gentleman's son from Hamburgh, in which character I had known him, and who had been trepanned into the West India Company's service by the crimps or silver-coopers as a common soldier. This corps, as I have already said, is composed of all nations, Christians, Gentiles, and even Jews; the latter, I must observe, devoured pork and bacon, without scruple or hesitation, as often as they could find it.

On this spot, which had formerly been a plantation, but was now choked with weeds, I met with some herbs which again I cannot pass unnoticed, though I have no other names for them than those given me by the negroes, one only excepted, which is commonly known by the name of the *siliqua-hirsuta*, cow-edge, or cow-itch, and called by the black people *crassy-weeree-weeree*. I can only describe this as a kind of pea, or rather flattish small purple bean, growing in a pod from a slender creeping vine; these pods are covered with a kind of fine elastic spicula, which, when touched, cause an intolerable itching. This hairy coat scraped from the pod, and taken in a tea-spoon with jelly, &c. has been strongly recommended as a vermifuge. A sort of wood was also shewn me here by one of the slaves, which he called *crassy-wood*; this had the same itching effect when touched, but with respect to its general qualities I can say nothing further. The other shrubs that we found were what they called *consaca-weeree-weeree*; these grow

with

with large green leaves, which the negroes ufe for the cure of a diforder in the feet called *confaca*, when they can procure no limes or lemons, as I have already mentioned: this plant alfo makes an excellent fallad. The *dea-weeree-weeree* is a fine wholefome herb, and very much efteemed; but the *cutty-weeree-weeree* is amongft the moft ferious pefts in the colony, being a kind of ftrong edged grafs, which is in fome places very plentiful; and when a man walks through it will cut his legs like a razor. Herbs in general are in this country known by the name of *weeree-weeree* by the negroes. CHAP. XVII.

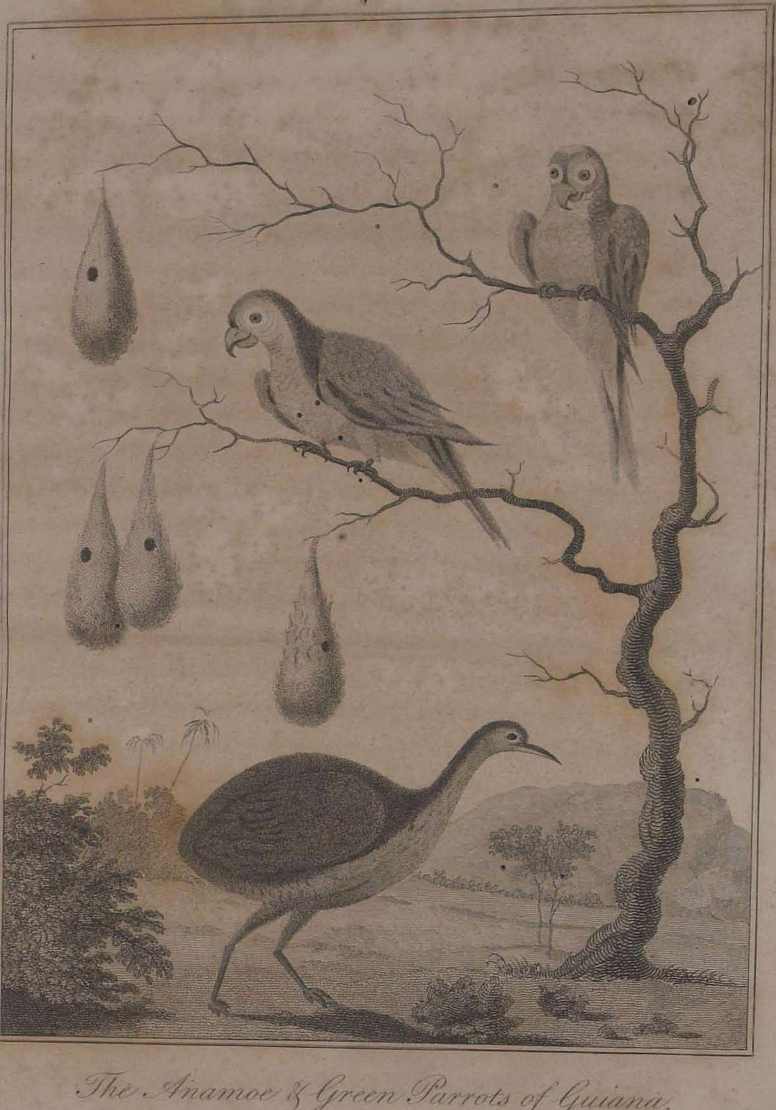
On the 5th, I arrived at Magdenberg. Here Colonel Seyburg, and what he called his officers, feemed to form a diftinct corps from thofe of Fourgeoud. They appeared totally deftitute of politenefs, and treated each other with the greateft rudenefs, while their colonel was moft cordially hated by the commander in chief. This ftate of things contributed to render our fituation ftill more difagreeable: I however had at this time little reafon to complain, being for the prefent, at leaft, in the good graces of Fourgeoud, which, by a trifling accident, I had nearly again forfeited. Colonel Fourgeoud having purchafed of fome Indians a couple of moft beautiful parrots, called here *cocatoos*, which were in a cage ready to be fhipped off as a prefent to her royal highnefs the princefs of Orange, I perfuaded Monfieur Laurant, his valet-de-chambre, to take one of them out, that I might the better examine it, but the cage-door was no fooner

opened,

CHAP. XVII.

opened, than it gave a ſhriek, and diſappeared in an inſtant, flying over the Tempatee Creek. The poor valet ſtood perfectly petrified, and could only pronounce "Voyez-vous?" whilſt I took to my heels to avoid the approaching ſtorm, but ſtopped near enough to obſerve Fourgeoud's motions through the underwood. He was no ſooner informed of the *dreadful* accident, than he began to ſtorm, ſwear, and dance like a man totally deprived of reaſon; he next, by kicking it, killed a poor waddling duck belonging to one of our officers; and at laſt actually trampled his very wig under his feet, while I ſtood trembling, and the reſt of the ſpectators were laughing aloud. In about half an hour his paſſion began gradually to cool, and then he had recourſe to a ſtratagem which actually brought the parrot back into his poſſeſſion. He placed the remaining captive on the top of its cage, tied by a ſmall cord round its claw; this he ſet in the open air, putting a ripe banana inſide, and leaving the door open, ſo that any other bird except the priſoner might come at it; the poor captive at laſt becoming very hungry, made ſuch a noiſe and ſhrieking as to be heard by his mate, who returning entered the cage in queſt of food, and was once more deprived of his freedom. I now ventured from my concealment, and was acquitted after a gentle reproof; though poor Laurant, as may well be imagined, did not eſcape without a thundering lecture.

The cocatoos are leſs than the parrots, and of a green colour, except the head and a few feathers in the tail, which



The Anamoe & Green Parrots of Guiana.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson St. Pauls Church Yard.

which are of a pale red. This bird is crowned with a *panashe* or bunch of feathers, and which generally lie backward, but which it erects at pleasure, when it is irritated or afraid.

I have also seen in Surinam a parrot of a deep slate blue colour, though not like those that come from the coast of Guinea, which are rather of a lead-grey. This parrot is said to be very scarce, and only inhabits the deepest recesses of the forest, whence it is brought to Paramaribo by the Indians: this bird is less than the common parrot, but appears very strong and lively. The most common parrots in Guiana are those which Marcgrave calls *ajuriicura*. These birds are not so large as those that come from Africa; they are green, with the breast and belly a pale yellow; on the top of the head they have a blue spot, and the feet are grey, with four toes like the rest of the genus, two before and two behind; in the wings they have some feathers of a bright blue, and some a deep crimson; they are more a nuisance than a pleasure in Surinam, where, in prodigious flocks, they perch amongst the coffee, maize, rice, &c. and commit great devastations; and what makes them a still greater nuisance, their shrieking noise is almost insupportable. They always fly in pairs, and very swift, towards the east, as I have observed, meeting the sun in the morning, and toward the west they follow it in the evening: they generally breed in remote places and lay two eggs. I brought down two of these parrots at a shot when I was

at

CHAP. XVII.

at Sporkſgift eſtate; theſe animals not being quite dead, ſcratched me moſt terribly with their ſharp claws, as they are very ſtrong and tenacious of life. We had them dreſſed, and they made no bad ſoup; they may alſo do in a pye as rooks in England, but dreſſed in any other way they are tough and diſagreeable. Theſe green parrots may be taught to ſpeak, laugh, cry, bark, whiſtle, or mew, but not near ſo well as thoſe which come from Africa. It is ſaid, they are often intoxicated by the ſeeds of the cotton plant. Theſe parrots are alſo ſubject to fits, perhaps from their choleric diſpoſition, yet longevity is peculiarly aſcribed to them by the Indians: they have ſtrong hooked bills, which aſſiſt them in climbing and cracking very hard nuts, and they ſometimes bite very ſeverely; they delight in ſwinging and balancing, hanging from the branches of trees, and in their wild as well as domeſtic ſtate uſe one of their claws as a hand to take their food.

In Surinam there are alſo ſome beautiful paroquets, which are a ſpecies of parrots, but ſmaller though not leſs common; the fineſt of theſe is of the ſize of a very ſmall pigeon; they are of a lively green on the back and tail, but the head and neck are auburn, the feathers on the laſt being edged with a gold colour, which gives them the appearance of rich ſcollops or ſcales: the breaſt is of a leaden hue, the belly lilac, the wings tipped with orange and azure, and the bill of a very dark blue; the eyes are the colour of fire, and the feet quite black. The other

ſpecies are perfectly green, with a white bill, and a crimſon ſpot on the head; theſe make an agreeable chattering, but are not ſo eaſily domeſticated as the former.

I was preſented this evening by a ſoldier with a bird of a quite different kind, which he had actually caught with his hands. This was no other than the *annamoe*, or Surinam partridge, and a finer creature I never ſaw: it was of the ſize of a large duck, extremely fat, and of a dark brown colour on the back and wings, and on the top of the head, the under part of which, the breaſt, the belly, and the thighs, were of a fine cream-colour, intermixed with orange feathers and very ſmall tranſverſe black bars. The body was exactly the ſhape of an egg, it had no tail, the neck was long, the bill ſhort, but very ſharp-pointed, and a little curved; the eyes were bright, and as black as jet; the legs ſhort, of the colour of vermilion, with three ſmall toes on each foot. This bird, it is ſaid, runs with amazing ſwiftneſs, hiding itſelf amongſt the graſs and weeds, but flies very heavily on account of its plumpneſs, which was the cauſe of its being thus overtaken by the marine. We had it roaſted, and indeed nothing could be more delicious. As I took a correct drawing of it, I refer the reader to the annexed plate; where he may alſo ſee the parrot of South America, as deſcribed above, beſides a few curious neſts, of which I have given an account in Vol. I. p. 375, but where I had no opportunity of placing them; and which, beſides their curioſity, may ſerve to ſhew how much the public are im-

CHAP. XVII.

poſed upon; when, in Goldſmith's Animated Nature, Vol. V. p. 253, that author aſſerts, that they are built on the banana and plantain trees, where he alſo deſcribes the monkies, and numbers of large ſerpents as aſſembling. All this I here think it my duty to pronounce erroneous, as I conſider it would be unpardonable in me to let ſuch abſurdities paſs by unnoticed.

On the 9th, an accident had nearly befallen me, which muſt have cauſed me much poignant and laſting ſorrow. My black boy, waſhing my cotton hammock in the Tempatee Creek, was ſuddenly carried to the bottom by the rapidity of the ſtream, and entangled in its laſhings, ſo that both the one and the other diſappeared; the boy, however, luckily extricated himſelf, though with great difficulty, and to my great joy, though more than half drowned, appeared once more on terra firma; when he had the preſence of mind inſtantly to ſink a large fiſh-hook, with a lead tied to a ſtrong line, ſome yards below the ſpot, with which he actually brought up the hammock, to our aſtoniſhment, the ſtream running ſo ſwift that it rolled over the ground, and was liable to ſhift its ſtation every moment.

The following day, as Captain Hamel was angling, his tackle got faſt at the bottom of the creek, when, in diving to clear it, I ſtruck my ancle with ſuch violence againſt a rock, that it was ſeveral months before it was perfectly recovered.

Theſe accidents appeared greatly to entertain Colonel Seyburg, while in return I could not help feeling a de-

 gree

gree of indignation at what I confidered as unhandfome behaviour; but the moft extraordinary circumftance was, that this difguft between Seyburg and myfelf feemed to gain me the favour of old Fourgeoud, almoft as much as if I had deftroyed half the rebel negroes in the colony.—During all this time ftrong patroles cruized between Magdenberg, La Rochelle, and the Jew Savannah; and on the 17th, the commander in chief marched to Patamaca with nearly the half of his troops, leaving *me* the command of thofe that remained on the mountain, for I was not able to accompany him, having by this time a dangerous mortification in my ancle.

CHAP. XVII.

As I had now the profpect of remaining fome time at Magdenberg, I difpatched Quaco to Paramaribo for provifions, and orders to buy me a live goat.

Whatever may be thought of Fourgeoud's manœuvres, in not being able to bring the rebels to a pitched battle, it is very certain that he exerted himfelf and his troops to the utmoft; and that by his conftantly traverfing the upper parts of the rivers, and fcouring the fkirts of the colony, he prevented many depredations on the eftates, which was undoubtedly a very effential fervice to the inhabitants, though at a dreadful expence of blood and money.

Being now the commander in chief at this poft, the two negroes I have formerly mentioned hunting and fifhing for me, brought me almoft every day one or two *pingos*, which are the wild boars formerly mentioned, befides a

CHAP. XVII.

fiſh called *newmara*, ſome of which are as large as cod, and which I ſhall afterwards deſcribe. With theſe dainties I regaled all the officers without exception, while I gave to the hoſpital all the plantains, bananas, oranges, and lemons, that were occaſionally ſent me as preſents from the *Jacob* and the plantations in Upper Comewina; and never was a deputy-governor more univerſally beloved. Patroles were alſo daily ſent out to every quarter; and the environs of Magdenberg were ſo completely ſcoured, that no invaſion from the rebels could be practicable. Theſe precautions were the more neceſſary, as they had *formerly* ſurpriſed and taken by ſtorm different military poſts for the ſake of ammunition and fire-arms, which are to them of the utmoſt value, and their ſeizure of the moſt pernicious conſequence to the colony. Indeed ſome poſts had not only been attacked and plundered of their ſtores and ammunition, but were actually maſſacred to a man.

Mortified that it was not in my power to take a more active part at preſent, I availed myſelf of this leiſure, by taking drawings of every animal, reptile, or ſhrub, that I thought could illuſtrate my little collection of natural curioſities, which I now began to form ſome idea of exhibiting to the public, if it ſhould be my fate ever more to return to Europe.

One of my negroes, on the 24th of this month, brought me two curious inſects; which, though I had no opportunity of drawing, I will endeavour to deſcribe:—

The

The one (which ſeemed to have ſome ſmall affinity to the graſshopper kind) was what is here generally called *ſpaanſe-juffer*, and is without exception the moſt ſingular animal I ſaw in the colony. The body of this ſurpriſing creature, though not thicker than a quill, was no leſs than ſeven inches and a half in length, including the tail; it had no wings, and was mounted like a ſpider on ſix legs that were near ſix inches long; it had four antennæ projecting from its head, two being nearly five inches, and two much ſhorter; the head was ſmall, the eyes large, black, and prominent, and the tail articulated like that of moſt inſects: its colour was a browniſh green, and, upon the whole, it ſeemed a monſter. This creature is found near the marſhy places, where its long legs appear deſigned to enable it to wade through the water, but not to ſwim (according to Mr. Farmine's opinion) for which its feet are not calculated, as they terminate in two ſmall claws like thoſe of ſome beetles. The other was a large fly, which Madam Merian, who gives a drawing of it, calls the *vielleur*, but which I have generally heard called the *ſcare-ſleep* by the Dutch. Theſe words being extremely applicable, from the noiſe it makes towards the evening, which nearly reſembles the ſound of a cymbal, or that of a razor-grinder when at his work. This remarkable fly, whoſe grinding noiſe always begins at ſun-ſet or ſix o'clock, is alſo called the *porte-lanterne* or *lantern-bearer*, from the light it diffuſes after that time, and which is much ſtronger than that of any of the fire-fly ſpecies,

CHAP. XVII.

affording ſufficient light for almoſt any purpoſe: theſe flies are above three inches long, and very thick, the body green, with four tranſparent wings variegated with little marks of all colours, particularly the under wings, on which are two large roundiſh ſpots not unlike thoſe on the tail feathers of a peacock. Beneath the head of this inſect is ſeen an inverted ſtraight trump or tube like a needle, with which it is ſaid to ſuck its food from the flowers. With the ſame inſtrument it is here ſuppoſed to produce that diſagreeable, loud, and grinding noiſe, which I have already noticed. But, for my own part, I ſhould rather aſcribe the noiſe to the fluttering of its tranſparent wings, as is ſuppoſed to be the caſe with ſome flies in England: a large proboſcis or ſnout ſtriped red and yellow, and ſhaped like the firſt joint of a man's finger, projects from the head, and makes one-third of the whole animal; this protuberance is vulgarly called its lantern, and emits that ſurpriſing light whence it takes its ſecond name. I ſhall only add, that it is a very ſlow creeper, but flies with amazing velocity.

On the 26th, my boy Quaco arrived from Paramaribo with the following liſt of proviſions, which he had purchaſed for me. In order to give the curious a juſt idea of the prices in Surinam when things are cheapeſt, I will here inſert ſome articles as charged to my account, with the prices in Engliſh money, calculating at the rate of eleven florins to one pound ſterling.

Theſe

These articles were as follow:

2 bacon hams, 31 lbs. at 15*d.* per lb.

1 ſmall cag of butter, 10lbs. at 1*s.* 10*d.* per lb.

1 ſmall ditto of flour, 100lbs. at 4*d.* per lb.

1 Dutch cheeſe, 11lbs. at 10*d.* per lb.

2 quart bottles of vinegar, at 1*s.* 10*d.* per quart.

4 lbs. ſpermaceti candles, at 3*s.* 8*d.* per lb.

2 lbs. dried ſauſages, at 2*s.* 9*d.* per lb.

The prices of wine and ſpirits I have already mentioned in the twelfth chapter.

He alſo brought me a goat with its kid to ſupply me with milk, for which I paid twenty florins, or near two pounds ſterling: theſe prices are at leaſt double, and ſome treble, to what they uſed to be in England.

Goats are very common in all Guiana; they are not large, but very beautiful creatures, with ſmall horns, and very ſhort ſmooth hair, moſtly of a dun-colour; they are as nimble as ſtags, and are kept on all the eſtates, where they breed faſt and give much milk; they are alſo delicious eating when killed young.

I had now the diſagreeable news, that all my letters for Europe were ſunk on board Captain Viſſer, who was wrecked in the Texel roads among the ice. I was alſo ſincerely grieved to hear that my good friend Mr. Kennedy, with his lady and family, had taken their final farewel of the colony, and ſailed for Holland. This gentleman, Mr. Gordon, and a Mr. Gourluy, were the only Scotch; a Mr. Buckland, a Mr. Townſend, and Mr.

Halfhide,

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI ... TANJORE

CHAP. XVII.

Halfhide, the only Engliſh; and Captain Macneal, the only native of Ireland, reſiding in this colony.

On the 28th, Colonel Fourgeoud returned with his command from Patamaca, much emaciated himſelf, and his men nearly exhauſted by fatigue. He had left a great number behind him in the hoſpital at La Rochelle, but heard no account whatever of the rebels, although he varied his route every time. It was therefore pretty evident that they were routed, if latterly there had been any ſettled at all: but where to find them in this unbounded foreſt was the queſtion. He however never deſpaired, and ſeemed as eager to diſcover the haunts of the rebels as he had been formerly in ſpringing a covey of partridges, or diſcovering a neſt of black badgers.

On the 29th, Mr. Matthew, one of our officers who had been out ſhooting, preſented me with the *Taibo*, an animal that is here called the wood-rat. This creature was the ſize of a young hare, and of a reddiſh brown colour, being remarkably thin, with long limbs, a roundiſh head, and a tail not unlike that of a ſucking-pig; the claws were exactly like thoſe of a common rat, but larger in proportion, and ſo was the head, mouth, teeth, and whiſkers; the ears were ſhort and naked, the eyes black and prominent, with a white iris; it is ſaid to run very faſt: we had it dreſſed, and ate it, having been told that it was very good, and ſo we found it, ſweet, tender, and even fat, notwithſtanding its lank appearance. This

creature,

CHAP. XVII.

creature, on account of its ſize, reminds me of another animal, known in this country by the name of *crabbo-dago*, or the crabbed dog, for its matchleſs ferocity, as it kills and devours every thing that comes in its way, without exception, whether quadrupeds, fowls, or reptiles; and never ſeeming to be glutted with blood, it murders, even without being hungry, all it can vanquiſh, which, on account of its courage, activity, and ſtrength, are not a few, though it be not larger than a common cat. From what I have ſaid, I ſhould apprehend it much reſembles the *ichneumon*, but ſtill more that animal mentioned by Mr. Allemand, in the Count de Buffon; (ſee Vol. IV. p. 266.) which he there calls the *griſon* or grey-weazel, though this that I mention was rather larger; and he ſays, that notwithſtanding its being a native of Surinam, none of the people coming from that country could give any account of it. If this be the ſame animal, (as I doubt not, and have therefore given it the name of the *crabbo-dago* or griſon) I am happy to have had it in my power to give the reader ſome account of it. I ſhall now literally quote the Count's own words, as extracted from Mr. Allemand, which will afford the beſt proof of its being the ſame animal, when compared with the annexed plate, where both the wood-rat, and the *crabbo-dago* or griſon, are repreſented; and had I ſeen this account during the Count's life, I would have moſt aſſuredly taken the liberty of informing him by a

 letter,

CHAP. XVII.

letter, of what I now, though in this unconnected method, relate to the public.

"I received," says Mr. Allemand, "the small animal "represented in the plate*. In the catalogue it was "called the grey-weazel, from which circumstance I de-"rived the name grison, because I knew not how it is "denominated in the country where it is found. The "whole upper part of its body is covered with deep "brown hair, having white points, which gives it a "greyish brown colour: under the head and neck is a "bright grey, because the hairs are very short, and the "white part is of equal length with the brown. The "muzzle, the under part of the body, and legs, are black, "which singularly contrasts with the grey colour on the "head and neck.

"The head of this animal is very large in proportion "to its body, its ears almost form a semicircle, its eyes "are large, and its mouth is armed with strong grinders "and sharp tusks: it has six cutting teeth in each jaw, "four of them hardly rising above the gums. Both the "fore and hind feet have five toes, with yellowish claws; "the tail is pretty long, and terminates in a point.

"The grison has a greater resemblance to the weazel, "than to any other animal, but it belongs not to the "weazel tribe; for its body is not long enough, and its

* The Dutch edition, Vol. XV.

The Wood-Rat of Surinam.

The Crabbodago, or Grisson.

Barlow sculp.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard.

" legs are too long. It is not mentioned by any author " or traveller. I ſhewed it to ſeveral perſons who had " lived long in Surinam, but none of them knew it; " hence it either muſt be a rare animal, even in its " native country, or it muſt live in deſerts and unfre-" quented places: the length of its body is about ſeven " inches; I have not been able to learn any thing of its " hiſtory."

To this I ſhall only add my ſurprize.—It is true that this animal is very rare in Surinam, but it probably owes its not being deſcribed by naturaliſts to its extreme ferocity, which is without example, it being a very uncommon circumſtance to take a *crabbo-dago* or griſon alive.

Our old commander and I were now inſeparable friends, to whoſe board being daily invited, he requeſted me to paint his portrait at full length in his buſh equipage, which was to be engraved at the expence of the town of Amſterdam, and where he thought himſelf now as great a man as the Duke of Cumberland was in England after the battle of Culloden.

Having provided a large ſheet of paper, and ſome China ink, I began to delineate this wonderful character in his own hut. While I was now looking full in his face, to examine the features of this firſt of deſpots, and laughing aloud, to think how he and I now ſat ſtaring at one another, the whole mountain was ſuddenly ſhook by a tremendous clap of thunder, while the lightning actually ſcorched the Colonel's forehead; and,

 what

CHAP. XVII.

what is very curious, broke all the eggs under a hen that was fitting in a corner of the room where we were engaged. The hero's features being re-compofed, I proceeded, and the picture was completed in a fhort time after, to his great fatisfaction.

About this time the captive rebel, September, who was taken in the year 1773, died of a dropfy. Ever fince his capture, when his companion was fhot, this poor fellow was obliged to follow Fourgeoud like a dog through all his expeditions; the colonel always expecting that this negro would, one day or other, conduct him to different haunts of the rebels—but he was miftaken. The other negro flaves, fufpecting that he had actually given fome information, attributed his dreadful death to a punifhment from God, for his want of fidelity to his countrymen, to whom they fuppofed he had fworn to be true.

The reader may remember, that I have ftated it in the third Chapter, as an invariable article of belief among the African negroes, that whoever breaks his oath fhall die miferably in this world, and be punifhed for ever in that which is to come.

By the 2d of June, the Hope in Comewina was become fo very unwholefome for want of cleanlinefs, and being kept free from inundations (as it was much neglected by the newly-arrived troops which were now ftationed there), that the commanding officer and moft of his men were rendered unfit for duty by ficknefs, and many of them already buried. To this place Colonel Fourgeoud ordered

dered down Captain Brant to take the command, with a fresh supply of men, and orders to send, not to town but to Magdenberg, all the invalids he should relieve. These orders he gave to the above officer in such a brutal manner, and dispatched him so suddenly, that he had not even time to pack up his cloaths; while Colonel Seyburg deprived him of his only servant, whom he took for himself. This usage so much affected Captain Brant, that he burst into tears, and declared he did not wish longer to survive such galling treatment: he then departed to the Hope, truly with a broken heart.

Upon his arrival he was informed that Captain Brough, the late commanding officer, was dead. This poor man had been on hard service in the woods, and being very corpulent, could no longer support the fatigues and excessive heat; he melted down very fast, and a putrid fever at last occasioned his dissolution. Captain Brant was soon followed by Colonel Seyburg to the Hope, with orders to inspect the sick.—In this interval of inaction, I shall describe two fishes, which, though very different in size and colour, equally merit particular attention.

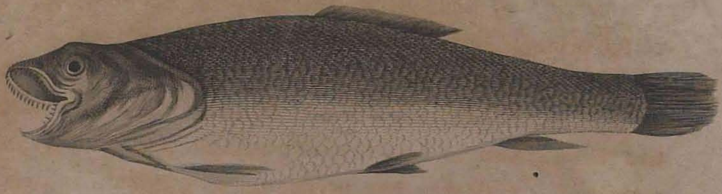
The first, and indeed the only one of the kind I ever saw, was caught by an angler. It was about the size of a large anchovy, and, the dorado excepted, was certainly the most beautiful coloured fish I ever saw. Its back and sides were divided in longitudinal bars of fine yellow and a deep blueish black, the belly was silver, the eyes were black and gold, and the fins a glowing transparent vermi-

CHAP. XVII.

lion; its ſhape was not unlike that of a trout, and the whole was covered with ſmall ſcales; it had one dorſal fin on the middle of its back, with only the veſtige of another near the tail, which was forked: under its belly were five fins, two pectoral, two ventral, and one behind the anus; the under jaw projected before the upper jaw, and made its mouth appear reverſed; the gills were ſmall. Having enquired concerning this little fiſh, the only information I could obtain was from a black man, who called it *dago-fiſee*.

The other is that fine large fiſh called by the Engliſh *rock-cod*, by the Indians *baro-ketta*, and *new-mara* by the negroes, which I have ſeveral times mentioned, but not deſcribed; they are taken plentifully in all the upper parts of the rivers. This fiſh is the ſize of a large cod, but covered with ſcales, and by ſome compared to a ſalmon; the back is a brown olive colour, the belly is white, the head is ſtrong, with ſmall eyes, of which the pupil is black and the iris grey; the mouth is very large, and beſet with one row of ſharp teeth like thoſe of a pike, and, like it, this creature is extremely voracious; the tail is obtuſe and dark olive; as alſo the fins, ſix in number, one dorſal, two pectoral, two ventral, and one abdominal. This fiſh is extremely delicious eating, and particularly eſteemed by the white inhabitants at Paramaribo, where it is very ſcarce, though in the upper parts of the rivers they are taken in great abundance. I painted theſe two fiſhes very correctly, the *dago-fiſh* as

The Fresh-water Fish called Dago Fisse.



The Rock Cod, or Newmara.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson St. Pauls Church Yard.

large as life, and the *new-mara* confiderably lefs. The drawings were honoured in Surinam with the epithets of mafterly performances.

Several officers who kept poultry and hogs at this period loft all the latter in the fpace of two days, being poifoned probably by eating duncane, or fome other fatal weed that was unknown to us. And yet it has been a general obfervation, as I have faid before, that all animals know by inftinct to diftinguifh their food from their poifon.

Mr. Seyburg now returned from the Hope in triumph, with Lieutenant *Dederlin* (one of Colonel Fourgeoud's officers) guarded by a ferjeant and fix marines with fixed bayonets, for having been wanting in refpect, as that gentleman pleafed to call it.

On the 7th, the fick officers and foldiers alfo arrived from the Hope in barges; fome of the latter, being too ill to bear removing, died on the paffage without medicines, and without affiftance. One of our furgeons died alfo this day in camp, and a number of the privates died daily. This was the confequence of having marched fo much in the wet feafon, which was judged however by our chief to be the only feafon in which he was likely to root the rebels from the foreft of Guiana.

CHAP.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL ... THE TANJORE

CHAP. XVIII.

A Tyger taken in the Camp—Fatal Rencounter of a Party with the Rebels, who killed ſeveral of the Troops, and forced the reſt back—Deſcription of a Planter of Surinam—Contagious Diſtempers—Suicide—Scene of primitive Nature.

CHAP. XVIII.

I HAVE juſt mentioned that ſeveral officers kept poultry, numbers of which were now taken away every night by ſome unknown marauder; when a Captain Bolts (ſuſpecting the *coati-mondi*, or *crabbo-dago)* made a trap of an empty wine-cheſt, only by ſupporting the lid with a ſtick fixed to a long cord, into which (having firſt ſecured all the other poultry) he put a couple of live fowls, the whole guarded by two negroes at ſome diſtance. They had not been many hours on their poſt, when hearing the fowls ſhriek, one negro pulled the rope, and the other ran to ſecure the invader by ſitting on the lid: when this proved to be actually a young tyger, who would yet have cleared his way by beating againſt the box, but that it was immediately ſecured by ſtrong ropes, and drawn along, with the priſoner in it, to the river; where, being held under water, he was drowned, under the moſt vigorous efforts, by beating againſt the cheſt to effect his eſcape. Captain Bolts ordered the ſkin to be taken off, which he kept in remembrance of ſo very ſtrange a circumſtance.

The Count de Buffon aſſerts, that there are no tygers in

CHAP. XVIII.

in America, but animals much reſembling them, which go by that name. I ſhall however deſcribe them, from actual obſervation, as I found them, and leave the reader to determine whether they are tygers or not.

The firſt and largeſt is that called the *jaguar* of Guiana. This animal, which has by ſome been repreſented as a deſpiſeable little creature, not larger than a greyhound, is, on the contrary, very fierce, ſtrong, and dangerous; ſome of them meaſuring, from the noſe to the root of the tail, not leſs than ſix feet: and let us not forget the print of that enormous tyger's foot, ſeen by myſelf in the ſand, near Patamaca; though it may be allowed, that creature was of an extraordinary ſize, and the ſand very looſe.—The *jaguar* is of a tawny orange colour, and the belly white; on the back it is ſpotted with longitudinal black bars; on the ſides with irregular rings, light-coloured in the center; and all over the reſt of the body, and the tail, the ſpots are ſmaller, and perfectly black: its ſhape is in every caſe like that of the African tyger, and being all of the cat kind, they need no particular deſcription; but their ſize and ſtrength being ſo much greater than that little domeſtic animal, they devour a ſheep, or a goat, with the ſame facility as a cat would kill a mouſe or a rat; nay, cows and horſes are not protected from their attacks; for theſe they frequently kill on the plantations; and though they cannot carry them off into the foreſt on account of their weight, they tear and mangle them in a dreadful manner, only for the ſake of the blood, with

which this ferocious animal is never glutted. It has even happened that the *jaguar* has carried off young negro women at work in the field, and too frequently their children. This contemptible animal, as it is called and mifreprefented by fome authors, will beat down a wild boar with a fingle ftroke of its paw, and even feize by the throat the ftrongeft ftallion that ever was mounted in Guiana; while its favage nature, and thirft after blood, is fuch that it cannot be tamed: it will, on the contrary, bite the very hand that feeds it, and very often devours its own offspring; ftill this creature is not a match for the *aboma-fnake*, which, when it comes within its reach, has the power of crufhing it to a jelly in but few moments.

The next is the *couguar*, called in Surinam the *red tyger*.—This indeed may, with more propriety, be compared to a greyhound, for its fhape, though not for its fize; being much larger than the dog which it refembles in make, but it is not in general fo large and heavy as the *jaguar*. The colour of this animal is a reddifh brown; the breaft and belly are a dirty white, with long hair, and not fpotted; the tail an earthy colour, the extremity black; the head is fmall, the body thin, the limbs long, with tremendous whitifh claws; the teeth are alfo very large, the eyes prominent, and fparkling like ftars. This creature is equally ferocious with the former.

Another of the fame fpecies is the *tyger-cat*, which is extremely beautiful. This animal is not much larger

than

The Jagnar, or Tiger of Terra-Firma.

The Tiger-Cat of Surinam.

London, Published Decr. 2nd. 1795, by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

CHAP. XVIII.

than I have feen fome cats in England: it is of a yellow colour, with fmall annulated black fpots, which are white within; the belly is a light colour; the ears are black, with a white fpot on each; the hair is fmooth, and the fkin is very much efteemed: the fhape like that of the *tyger*. The *tyger-cat* is a very lively animal, with its eyes emitting flafhes like lightning; but ferocious, mifchievous, and untameable, like the reft of the kind.

In Guiana is ftill another of this fpecies, called the *jaguanetta*, of a blackifh colour, with ftill blacker fpots; but of this laft I can fay very little, having never feen one; and, indeed, the others but very feldom. Of the *jaguar* however, and the *tyger-cat*, I prefent the reader with a drawing. All thefe animals have long whifkers, like common cats; they fometimes climb trees, but generally lie in ambufh under the verdure, whence they bound with uncommon agility on their helplefs prey; which having murdered, they drink the blood warm, and never ceafe to tear and devour it till they are gorged; but when no longer animated by hunger they are cowardly, and may be put to flight by a common fpaniel. Of fire alfo they are exceedingly afraid, which is the beft guard to keep them at a diftance, and as fuch, made ufe of every night by the Indians in Guiana. More than once it has been obferved, that tygers had entered our camps for want of thefe precautions, but fortunately without committing any depredations.

As I now feemed to be on a friendly intercourfe

CHAP. XVIII.

with Colonel Fourgeoud, I one day presented the old gentleman with a plan and bird's-eye view of all the encampment of Magdenberg, which pleafed him fo much that he fent this (as he had done the firft) to the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Brunfwick, as a fpecimen of his military manœuvres, &c. This prefent had the defired effect; for I not only became one of his favourites, but, declaring his higheft efteem for the Scots and Englifh, he even promifed to recommend me in particular at court. I was fo fatisfied with this change in his behaviour, that I now took the blame of all former animofity on myfelf. His attention, however, was fuddenly attracted by affairs of more confequence; fince, on the 14th of June, the news arrived that fome rebel huts were difcovered near the fea-fide; that Captain Mayland had marched in queft of the enemy, with one hundred and forty men of the Society troops, and had actually difcovered them; but in wading through a deep marfh, had been firft attacked by the negroes, who had killed feveral of his people (among whom his nephew, a young volunteer), wounded more, and beaten back the whole detachment, after they had already paffed the marfh, and were mounting faft on the oppofite beach to ftorm the village. From this news it was evident, that our fable foes were not to be trifled with; and fince they were thus difcovered, orders were immediately iffued for all the troops that were able to march to keep in readinefs, *viz.* Fourgeoud's

geoud's marines, the Society regiment, and my favourite rangers, who wanted no fpur, and now could hardly be reftrained till the others were prepared. Thefe troops were to be affembled at a certain place of rendezvous, while alfo a detachment marched to La Rochelle to give information. In confequence of thefe orders all was activity and vigour in the camp, in hopes that this decifive ftroke would end the war, and their mifery together; and this, therefore, was the time to lead them on to a fpirited attack; but, for reafons beft known to himfelf, our commander delayed his movement till the 20th of Auguft, which was above two months.

In the mean time the difagreeable news arrived, that Captain Brant was almoft dead with a violent illnefs at the Hope, which was at prefent the place where a number of the troops were quartered, though no better than a pefthoufe, by the inundations; and for the command at this place (as being one of his favourites) Fourgeoud now fingled me out: declaring, that I might thank my found conftitution for beftowing on me this honour. From this conduct, I plainly difcovered that all his friendfhip was entirely interefted; and I felt my refentment involuntarily rekindled againft him, for thus fending me to an inglorious death, when he had fo fair an opportunity of employing me honourably on actual fervice.

On my arrival at the Hope, my orders were to fend poor Captain Brant not down to Paramaribo, but to Magdenberg. This young man, however, fruftrated the ty-

rannical

CHAP. XVIII.

rannical command; for, juſtly ſuſpecting it, he had ſet out with a tent-barge to town a few hours before I came, where he was no ſooner carried to his lodgings than he expired, from the effects of a burning fever, and a broken heart. No man could be more regretted than Captain Brant; nor did Fourgeoud ever loſe a better officer, or I a ſincerer friend.

This being the ſecond commander dead in ſo ſhort a time, I quietly took for my motto—

Hodie tibi cras mihi.

But I was happily miſtaken, and continued ſtill as well as ever I was in my life, following the advice of old Caramaca, and bathing twice a day in the river; while I deſpiſed ſhoes and ſtockings, as uſeleſs and unneceſſary lumber.

On the 20th of June, a few days after my arrival, I had the honour to receive a viſit from the governor, Mr. Nepveu, on his return from his eſtate Appecappe to Paramaribo, with whom I condoled on the loſs of his lady, who had died very lately; I alſo received daily viſits from ſeveral planters, who complimented me with refreſhments from their plantations: and here I had an excellent opportunity of acquainting myſelf with the cuſtoms and manner of living of theſe Weſt-India nabobs.

A planter in Surinam, when he lives on his eſtate, (which is but ſeldom, as they moſtly prefer the ſociety of Paramaribo) gets out of his hammock with the

§ riſing

rising sun, *viz.* about six o'clock in the morning, when he makes his appearance under the piazza of his house; where his coffee is ready waiting for him, which he generally takes with his pipe, instead of toast and butter; and there he is attended by half a dozen of the finest young slaves, both male and female, of the plantation, to serve him; at this *sanctum-sanctorum* he is next accosted by his overseer, who regularly every morning attends at his levee, and having made his bows at several yards distance, with the most profound respect informs his Greatness what work was done the day before; what negroes deserted, died, fell sick, recovered, were bought or born; and, above all things, which of them neglected their work, affected sickness, or had been drunk or absent, &c.; the prisoners are generally present, being secured by the negro-drivers, and instantly tied up to the beams of the piazza, or a tree, without so much as being heard in their own defence; when the flogging begins, with men, women, or children, without exception. The instruments of torture on these occasions are long hempen whips, that cut round at every lash, and crack like pistol-shot; during which they alternately repeat, "*Dankee, massera,*" (Thank you, master). In the mean time he stalks up and down with his overseer, affecting not so much as to hear their cries, till they are sufficiently mangled, when they are untied, and ordered to return to their work, without so much as a dressing.

CHAP. XVIII.

This ceremony being over, the dressy negro (a black surgeon)

CHAP. XVIII.

ſurgeon) comes to make his report; who being diſmiſſed with a hearty curſe, for *allowing* any ſlaves to be ſick, next makes her appearance a ſuperannuated matron, with all the young negro children of the eſtate, over whom ſhe is governeſs; theſe, being clean waſhed in the river, clap their hands, and cheer in chorus, when they are ſent away to breakfaſt on a large platter of rice and plantains; and the levee ends with a low bow from the overſeer, as it begun.

His worſhip now saunters out in his morning dreſs, which conſiſts of a pair of the fineſt Holland trowſers, white ſilk ſtockings, and red or yellow Morocco ſlippers; the neck of his ſhirt open, and nothing over it, a looſe flowing night-gown of the fineſt India chintz excepted. On his head is a cotton night-cap, as thin as a cobweb, and over that an enormous beaver hat, that protects his meagre viſage from the ſun, which is already the colour of mahogany, while his whole carcaſe ſeldom weighs above eight or ten ſtone, being generally exhauſted by the climate and diſſipation. To give a more complete idea of this fine gentleman, I in the annexed plate preſent him to the reader with a pipe in his mouth, which almoſt every where accompanies him, and receiving a glaſs of Madeira wine and water, from a female quaderoon ſlave, to refreſh him during his walk.

Having loitered about his eſtate, or ſometimes ridden on horſeback to his fields, to view his increaſing ſtores, he returns about eight o'clock, when, if he goes abroad, he dreſſes, but if not, remains juſt as he is. Should the

Blake Sculp.t

A Surinam Planter in his Morning Dress.

London, Published Dec.r 2.d 1793 by J. Johnson, S.t Paul's Church Yard.

10

CHAP. XVIII.

firſt take place, having only exchanged his trowſers for a pair of thin linen or ſilk breeches, he ſits down, and holding out one foot after the other, like a horſe going to be ſhod, a negro boy puts on his ſtockings and ſhoes, which he alſo buckles, while another dreſſes his hair, his wig, or ſhaves his chin, and a third is fanning him to keep off the muſquitoes. Having now ſhifted, he puts on a thin coat and waiſtcoat, all white; when, under an umbrella, carried by a black boy, he is conducted to his barge, which is in waiting for him with ſix or eight oars, well provided with fruit, wine, water, and tobacco, by his overſeer, who no ſooner has ſeen him depart, than he reſumes the command with all the uſual inſolence of office. But ſhould this prince not mean to ſtir from his eſtate, he goes to breakfaſt about ten o'clock, for which a table is ſpread in the large hall, provided with a bacon ham, hung-beef, fowls, or pigeons broiled; plantains and ſweet caſſavas roaſted; bread, butter, cheeſe, &c. with which he drinks ſtrong beer, and a glaſs of Madeira, Rheniſh, or Mozell wine, while the cringing overſeer ſits at the farther end, keeping his proper diſtance, both being ſerved by the moſt beautiful ſlaves that can be ſelected;—and this is called breaking the poor gentleman's faſt.

After this he takes a book, plays at cheſs or billiards, entertains himſelf with muſic, &c. till the heat of the day forces him to return into his cotton hammock to enjoy his meridian nap, which he could no more diſpenſe with than a Spaniard with his *ſieſta*, and in which he rocks to and

CHAP. XVIII.

fro, like a performer on the ſlack-rope, till he falls aſleep, without either bed or covering; and during which time he is fanned by a couple of his black attendants, to keep him cool, &c.

About three o'clock he awakes by natural inſtinct, when having waſhed and perfumed himſelf, he ſits down to dinner, attended as at breakfaſt by his deputy governor and ſable pages, where nothing is wanting that the world can afford in a weſtern climate, of meat, fowls, veniſon, fiſh, vegetables, fruits, &c. and the moſt exquiſite wines are often ſquandered in profuſion; after this a cup of ſtrong coffee and a liqueur finiſh the repaſt. At ſix o'clock he is again waited on by his overſeer, attended as in the morning by negro-drivers and priſoners, when the flogging once more having continued for ſome time, and the neceſſary orders being given for the next day's work, the aſſembly is diſmiſſed, and the evening ſpent with weak punch, ſangaree, cards and tobacco.— His worſhip generally begins to yawn about ten or eleven o'clock, when he withdraws, and is undreſſed by his ſooty pages. He then retires to reſt, where he paſſes the night in the arms of one or other of his ſable ſultanas (for he always keeps a ſeraglio) till about ſix in the morning, when he again repairs to his piazza walk, where his pipe and coffee are waiting for him; and where, with the riſing ſun, he begins his round of diſſipation, like a petty monarch, as capricious as he is deſpotic and deſpiſeable.

Such abſolute power indeed, cannot fail to be peculiarly

delightful to a man, who, in all probability, was in his own country, Europe, a — nothing.

But, in this colony, this is too frequently the caſe, where plantations are ſold upon credit, and left (by the abſent proprietor) to the appraiſers, who, by ſelling cheap, have generally an underſtanding with the buyer.

Theſe are the planters who are the peſt of the colony; ſuch as the fine gentleman juſt deſcribed, who, while he lives at the above rate, pays nobody, under pretence of bad crops, mortality amongſt the ſlaves, &c. but like an upſtart raſcal maſſacres the negroes by double labour, ruins and pillages the eſtate of all its productions, which he clandeſtinely ſells for ready money, makes a purſe, and runs away. Exceptions, however, take place in every circumſtance of life; and I have known many planters in Surinam as good men as I ever would deſire to be acquainted with, which I have already mentioned.

As for the ladies, they indulge themſelves juſt as much, by giving way to their unbounded paſſions, and eſpecially to the moſt relentleſs barbarity. But while I can bear witneſs to the exalted virtues of ſuch a woman as Mrs. Elizabeth Danforth, now Mrs. Godfrey, and a few more whoſe characters ſhine with treble luſtre, I ſhall draw a veil over all the imperfections, too common to their ſex in this climate. Before I drop this ſubject, however, I muſt atteſt, that hoſpitality is in no country practiſed with greater cordiality or with leſs ceremony, a ſtranger being every where at home, and finding his table and his bed

 at

CHAP. XVIII.

at whatever eſtate neceſſity or choice may occaſion him to viſit. This is the more to be regarded, as no inns are to be met with in the neighbourhood of any of the Surinam rivers.

To vary the ſubject a little, I will now deſcribe three kinds of fiſh, with which I occaſionally entertained my friends. The *ſun-fiſh*, the *ſnake-fiſh*, and the *ſpotted-cat*. The firſt frequents both the ſalt and freſh water, like the ſalmon: it is about eighteen or twenty inches long, ſhaped not unlike a kite; and being covered over with ſcales of a golden colour, when it ſwims in clear water darts forth very bright beams, from which it has derived its name of the *ſun-fiſh*. The *ſnake-fiſh* takes its name from its reſemblance to that reptile: this is a black eel with a white belly, it is not large, and is very common in all the rivers. The *ſpotted-cat* is called ſo from its tabby colour, and long whiſkers: this fiſh is formed not unlike a *pike*, with very ſharp teeth; it has no ſcales, it is extremely fat, weighing ſometimes above ſeventy pounds, but its fleſh is yellow, and not eſteemed the moſt delicate food: however, here excellent fiſh is ſeldom wanting, ſuch as the *new-mara*, *paſſeſſee*, *warappa*, *jackee*, and many others already noticed. The Hope, with all this, was now truly a moſt ſhocking place of reſidence: here I much regretted my former cottage, and ſweet companion, the one in ruins, the other at Paramaribo; while, at preſent, not a man was to be ſeen without an ague or fever, or ſome other waſting complaint. The dyſentery

alſo began to make its appearance; and to add to our diſtreſs, we had neither ſurgeon, medicines, nor ſo much as a light, and very little bread left. I was moved with the ſituation of the troops, and again diſtributed all my biſcuits, lemons, oranges, ſugar, wine, ducks and fowls, amongſt the unhappy ſufferers, with a few ſpermaceti candles.

On the 23d I ſent up to the hoſpital at Magdenberg two ſick officers, *Orleigh* and *Francen*, with all the privates that could bear to be tranſported; and, at the ſame time, I repeated my humble entreaties to be ſoon relieved from ſo very diſagreeable a ſituation (for the confinement to which there was not the leaſt neceſſity), and requeſted to be one of the party to march againſt the rebels, but to no purpoſe; while the accounts came from below that a freſh neſt of negroes were diſcovered, even cloſe to Paramaribo, and the news came from above that the troops there were daily dying away; amongſt others, on the 22d, expired a Captain Seyburg, brother to the Colonel. This was actually the third captain who died within the ſpace of one month.

On the 26th two fine young officers arrived, unfit for ſervice by ruptures, occaſioned by the ſlippery ſtate of the ground in the rainy ſeaſon.

This evening one of our marines named Spanknevel, was miſſing, and was not found till the 29th, when he was diſcovered ſuſpended by a nebee to the branch of a tree. Not one of his comrades would cut him down, he

having

CHAP. XVIII. having hanged himſelf; alledging, that to touch him, according to their prejudices, (being Germans) would render them as infamous as himſelf. Wherefore, by my orders, he was taken down, and interred by the negroes.

An order at laſt came for my relief, and I immediately ſet out for Goed-Accoord, in company with Captain Bolts; where the planter, Mr. de Lange, and his lady, received us with great hoſpitality. This ſugar eſtate being the fartheſt that is cultivated in Rio Comewina, and conſequently expoſed to the neighbourhood of the rebel negroes, makes the ſlaves liable to their ſeductions; they are therefore treated with peculiar kindneſs and indulgence, to prevent their concurring in any inſurrection, or being perſuaded to leave their preſent ſituation.

Here we ſaw a great novelty indeed, the young negro women waiting at the table all ſtark naked, as they came into the world. I was at firſt ſtartled at the unuſual appearance; and aſking the cauſe, was modeſtly anſwered by the lady of the houſe, that it was ordered ſo by their mothers and matrons, to prevent (by ſuch means of detection, ſaid they) their too early intercourſe with the males, and child-bearing, which would ſpoil their ſhapes, weaken their ſtrength, and cramp their growth. Indeed finer made figures I never beheld than were both the men (witneſs Philander) and the women on this plantation, whoſe beautiful ſhapes, livelineſs, ſtrength, and activity, were inferior to no Europeans.

Next day we departed for Magdenburg an hour before ſun-

fun-fet, againft the advice of Mr. and Mrs. de Lange, in a fmall barge, covered only with a loofe awning. We had not rowed above two miles when not only night came on, but we were overtaken by fuch a fhower of rain, as had nearly funk us, the boat's gunwale not being more than two inches above the water: however, by the help of our hats and calibafhes, we kept her afloat, while a negro fat upon the bow, holding out a boat-hook ftraight before him to prevent us from being overfet, by inadvertently running, in pitch darknefs, againft the roots of magroves, &c. which thickly lined both the banks of the river all the way upwards.

In this ftate of wet and obfcurity, at ten o'clock at night, we came to the Jacob, being juft afloat and no more; for Bolts and I had no fooner leaped on the beach, than the boat funk with all that was in her, the flaves luckily fwimming afhore. Alas! amongft the wreck, was my poor box, with my journal, and all my paintings, which had coft me above two long years fo much labour, care, and attention. I was truly diftreffed at this lofs, when a fkilful negro dived feveral times to the bottom, and at laft brought up my little treafure, which, though thoroughly foaked, I was very happy to have again in my hands. Thus ended our fhipwreck, when having drank fome warm grog and flung our hammocks, we all fell afleep round a good fire, by which I made fhift to dry myfelf, and, what was of more confequence, my papers.

The following morning we again fet out, and rowed for

Magdenberg,

CHAP. XVIII. Magdenberg, but about half-way our voyage was once more obſtructed by an enormous tree which had accidentally fallen acroſs the Creek, ſo that we could neither drag the boat over nor under it. Thus we were again obliged to return to the Jacob, whence we now proceeded to Magdenberg on foot, through thorns, roots, brambles, and briars, and where we finally arrived wet and bloody; and my ancle, which had been nearly well, freſh wounded to the bone, the ſkin and fleſh being quite torn away by the numberleſs obſtructions to our ſteps.

Here we were acquainted that Mr. Orleigh, one of the two officers that I had ſent up to Magdenberg from the Hope on the 23d, was no more. Thus died almoſt all our gentlemen, who had been during the laſt month upon the hopeleſs Hope, from which now ſcarcely one ſingle private returned in health; and this, I am firmly of opinion, was greatly owing to the dry and burning month of June, when the ſun ſuddenly ſcorched them, after marching and even ſleeping in cold watery ſwamps, and conſtant heavy ſhowers during the rainy ſeaſon. However, I hitherto eſcaped by the ſtrength of my conſtitution and good ſpirits, which I determined by every poſſible means to keep from depreſſion, by laughing, whiſtling, ſinging, and (God forgive me!) ſometimes ſwearing, while all the reſt were ſighing, bewailing, and dying around me.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The Troops march to Barbacoeba, in the River Cottica—Frenzy Fever—Gratitude in an English Sailor—Description of the Government of Surinam—Some Account of the Emigrant Americans during the late War—Scene of unprecedented Generosity.

THE rainy ſeaſon being again approaching, Colonel Fourgeoud, having ſelected all the remaining healthy people, who now amounted to but one hundred and eighty in number, on the 3d of July, 1775, proceeded on his march for Barbacoeba, in the river Cottica; which ſpot he appointed for the general rendezvous, previous to the grand attack on the rebels. Of this party I had the honour to be one: but on the ſurgeon's declaring that I ſhould run the hazard of loſing my foot if I marched in the woods, I was ordered to remain at Magdenberg, with liberty, if I ſoon recovered, to join Fourgeoud, and make the beſt of my way to Barbacoeba. My limb, indeed, was now ſo ſwelled, and my wound ſo black with the mortification, that an amputation was dreaded by Mr. Knollaert, Fourgeoud's ſurgeon, and I could not even ſtand without excruciating pain.—I ſhall bear the mark of it as long as I live.

During this confinement I received daily preſents from Philander and the other negroes, as I was always kind to them.

CHAP. XIX.

them. Among theſe was a diſh of mountain-cabbage. This is the moſt eſteemed of all the various ſorts which grow, as I have mentioned formerly, on the different ſpecies of palm-trees; this tree grows ſometimes near fifty feet high, the trunk of a brown colour, hard, ligneous, divided into ſhort joints, and pithy within, like the elder: it is thick in proportion, ſtreight and tapering like the maſt of a ſhip; near the top the tree aſſumes a fluted form and a green colour, occaſioned by the huſky tegument that forms the branches; which, near the ſummit, diverge in a horizontal direction, like the crown of a pine-apple or ananas. Theſe branches are covered over on both ſides with ſtrong pinnated leaves about three feet long, of a deep green colour, and ſharp pointed, but folded and confuſedly intermixed, not gracefully drooping like thoſe of the manicole or cocoa-nut trees. The ſeed is incloſed in a browniſh kind of ſpatha, that ariſes from the center of the branches, and hanging downwards conſiſts of ſmall roundiſh nuts, not unlike a bunch of dried grapes, but much longer in proportion to their circumference. If the cabbage is wanted, the whole tree muſt be cut down, when it is diveſted firſt of its branches, and next of that fluted green huſky tegument that forms them; after this the heart or cabbage is taken out, white, and about two or three feet long: it is as thick as a man's arm, and round like a poliſhed ivory cylinder; it is compoſed of a kind of tender longitudinal white flakes, like ſilk ribbands, ready

to form the ſucceeding green tegument, but ſo cloſe that they form a criſp ſolid body. This, when eaten raw, is in taſte ſomething like the kernel of an almond, but is more tender and more delicious; when cut in pieces and boiled, it eats like cauliflower: it may be alſo peeled in the above-mentioned long thin flakes, and then it makes an excellent ſallad; but too much of it, whether eaten raw or dreſſed, is unwholeſome, as it is apt to occaſion a diarrhœa. It is in the cavity, after the cabbage is removed from it, that a black beetle depoſits its ſpawn, from which the palm-tree worms are produced, which feed on the remaining tender ſubſtance when it begins to rot, till they acquire the ſize already mentioned; though thoſe in the manicole tree, and other trees of the palm ſpecies, grow not ſo large, are leſs ſweet, and are alſo differently ſhaped.

The *maureecee* tree, by the French called *latanie*, is certainly the talleſt of all the palm-tree ſpecies; or, indeed, of any ſpecies in the foreſt of Guiana. And I can aver, that I have ſeen ſome of theſe trees whoſe lofty ſummits appeared to riſe no leſs than a hundred feet from the ſurface of the earth, while the circumference of their trunks was about ten or twelve feet where thickeſt; the trunk of this tree is largeſt at about one-fourth of its height from the root, whence it tapers not only upwards but downwards alſo: this ſingularity has perhaps eſcaped all other writers. It is of a light brown or grey-colour, and divided in joints all the way upwards to its branches, when (but at a great height, and near the top) it diverges in long

CHAP. XIX. green arched branches, naked till near their extremity, when theſe again diverge or digitate in long broad leaves of a pale green colour, and diſpoſed in an orbicular manner with great regularity, not unlike ſun-beams, or a lady's fan expanded. As the young branches ſpring up from the centre at the ſummit, the old ones fade at the bottom and hang downwards, ſhrivelled and dangling in the wind. From the heart of the green leaves the Indians draw out long white fibres or threads, as they do from the ſilk-graſs plant: theſe, being equally ſtrong, ſerve as cords when twiſted to ſtring their bows, to make nets, or to be uſed as threads; from the middle of the branches appears the ſeed, hanging down alſo in the form of a large rope of onions. I have ſeen many prints repreſenting palm-trees, but I muſt take the liberty to ſay that moſt of them are impoſitions on the public, having either been executed from fancy, or from a very bad deſcription; but I can aſſure my readers, that all thoſe which I repreſent were taken from nature, and on the ſpot: I ſpeak of the cocoa-nut tree, the manicola, the mountain-cabbage, and the maureecee trees, whoſe branches and leaves are all extremely different from each other; and I have not confounded the ſpecies, as they are in too many publications. The two firſt the reader has already ſeen; and the two others I now offer to his view, where *A* is the trunk of the mountain-cabbage-tree; *B* one of its branches, ſeparated from the reſt, and *C* the ſeed or huſky ſpatha incloſing it; *D* is the trunk of the maureecee-tree, and *E* one of its branches dropping down.

The Mountain-Cabbage & Maureecee Tree.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

down. *F* is the beetle that produces the maureecee worms, *G*, which are not ſo large nor ſo delicious as thoſe produced by the mountain-cabbage. Having had no opportunity of ſhewing in what manner the Indians and Africans aſcend trees, by figure *H* I have repreſented a negro climbing a young maureecee-tree, to which they do not cling with their arms and legs, but taking the trunk between their hands, they place the ſoles of their feet againſt it, and thus walk up in a moſt aſtoniſhing manner; by this method they ſave their ſkin from the bark, but it muſt certainly require very great ſtrength, activity, and practice.

Having thus far dwelt on the palm-tree ſpecies, I muſt once more return to domeſtic occurrences.

I have ſaid that all the officers and moſt of the privates who had lately been ſtationed at the Hope, had died, or were ſent up dangerouſly ill, while I had eſcaped the contagion. But, alas! now it became my turn, having only had a reprieve, and no more: for on the 9th I was ſeized with the ſame burning fever that had carried off the reſt; and even my black boy Quaco was very ill.

On the 14th, neceſſity forced me to give up the command to another officer, and depart from this inhoſpitable ſpot on my way to Paramaribo: I could however reach no farther than Goet Accoord, and there, on the 15th, all expected my death; when an old negro woman found means to make me partake of ſome butter-milk boiled with ſome barley and melaſſes, which was the firſt food

I had

CHAP. XIX.

I had tafted fince I was taken ill. This certainly did me infinite fervice; and the day following I was again able to be tranfported: the black boy alfo was much better.

The evening of the 15th I reached Fauconberg, where I was met by a packet of fix or eight letters from different friends, accompanied with prefents of hung-beef, bullocks tongues, Madeira, porter, rum, and two gallons of excellent fhrub, befides a fine bacon ham, and a beautiful pointer; both the laft from the identical Charles Macdonald, the Englifh failor, which he had brought me from Virginia, in return for the little civility I had formerly fhewn him fo unexpectedly at the Hope. This mark of the poor fellow's gratitude and generofity, the true characteriftics of a Britifh tar, gave me greater pleafure than all the things I received put together. But ftill I muft except two letters, the one from Mr. Lude at Amfterdam, and the other from Mr. de Graav, his adminiftrator at Paramaribo, acquainting me finally, and to my heartfelt fatisfaction, that the amiable Joanna and the little boy were at my difpofal, but at no lefs a price than two thoufand florins, amounting, with other expences, to near two hundred pounds fterling, a fum which I was totally unable to raife. I already owed the fum of fifty pounds, that I had borrowed for the black boy Quaco's redemption; but Joanna was to me invaluable, and though appraifed at one-twentieth part of the whole eftate, which had been fold for forty thoufand florins, no price

View of Magdenbergh, on Tempate Creek.

View of Calays, & the Creek Caswinica.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Paul's Church Yard.

price could be too dear for a young woman, poſſeſſing ſo much excellence, provided I could pay it.

Solomon well obſerves, "that as cold water is to a "thirſty ſoul, ſo are good tidings from a diſtant country;" and this news, on its firſt arrival, had indeed the moſt reviving effect on me: but when reflection taught me how impoſſible it was for me to obtain ſuch a ſum of money, and while I was employed in giving all the preſents I had received (except the ham and the dog) to Joanna's relations at Fauconberg, who loaded me with adorations and careſſes, I exclaimed, with a bitter ſigh, "Oh! that I could "have but found a ſum ſufficient to purchaſe every one "of their freedoms!" I now found myſelf, though exceedingly weak, however ſo much better, that on the next day I went down ſo far as the eſtate Bergſhove, whence the adminiſtrator, a Mr. Gourlay, humanely cauſed me to be tranſported to Paramaribo in a decent tent-barge with ſix oars; but relapſing, I arrived juſt alive on the evening of the 19th, having paſt the preceding night on the eſtate called the Jaloſee, apparently dead.

I cannot leave the river Comewina without preſenting the reader with a view of Magdenberg, from the Tempatee; and a peep at Calais, from the Hope, at the mouth of the Coſaweenica Creek.

Being now in a comfortable lodging at Mr. de la Mare's, and attended by ſo good a creature as Joanna, I recovered apace; and on the 25th was ſo well, that I was able to walk out for the firſt time, when I dined with Mrs. Godefroy,

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASW

CHAP. XIX. froy, Mr. de Graav not being in town to concert matters relative to the emancipation of Joanna, who had now once more literally ſaved my life. At this table there was never wanting all the wholeſome and refreſhing nouriſhment that I ſtood in need of, with the beſt of fruits and wines. Among the articles conducive to the reſtoration of health, are reckoned in this country all the different kinds of pepper which it affords, and the no leſs efficacious acid of limes. Among the firſt are the *cica* pepper, the *lattacaca*, and the *dago-peepee*, as they are called in Surinam; for the negroes name each thing from the reſemblance it bears to another: but theſe are known in Europe by the names of Cayenne, Pimento, and Capſicum. The firſt is properly called Cayenne from the French ſettlement of that name in Guiana; but the name *cica* or *chica* is derived from its round ſhape and ſize, reſembling the inſect called *chiga* or *chigoe*, already deſcribed; the next reſembles rats excrements, &c. All the above ſpecies, beſides ſome others, grow on low green ſhrubs, they all equally excoriate the mouth, have all the ſame fiery qualities, and when ripe are of a ſcarlet or rather a blood colour. The Europeans ſeldom eat any thing without it; but the blacks, and eſpecially the Indians, ſwallow it I might ſay by handfuls, not only as a reliſh, but as a remedy in almoſt every diſeaſe.

The limes grow on beautiful trees like lemons, but the leaf and the fruit are much ſmaller; they are rather a brighter yellow than the lemons, have a fine thin ſhell,

and are extremely full of the richeſt acid that I know, which has a particularly fine flavour, and is a great bleſſing to the ſick ſoldiers and ſailors in this colony, who have them for the trouble of gathering; ſo that it is not uncommon to ſee the tars employing their leiſure time in picking and carrying large hampers full to their veſſels. In Surinam there are whole hedges of lime-trees, and all round Paramaribo they grow wild. It is much to be lamented that, among other articles of luxury, this fruit cannot be tranſported to Europe; but whole caſks of this juice are frequently ſent over, and they are alſo pickled and preſerved in large jars by the inhabitants.

At the deſſert, among many other excellent fruits, I obſerved one which is here called the *mammee* apple: it grows on a tree about the ſize of an orange-tree, with a grey-coloured bark; the wood is whitiſh, and coarſe; the leaf very thick, poliſhed, and of a triangular form, without fibres. This fruit is nearly round, and is about five or ſix inches in diameter, covered with a ruſty coarſe ſkin: the pulp has the colour and conſiſtency of a carrot, encloſing two large ſtones with bitter kernels, but the fruit is of a delicious taſte, ſweet mixed with acid, and a ſmell ſuperior in fragrance to almoſt any other fruit in the colony. There were alſo nuts of two ſpecies, uſually called piſtachios, and by the negroes *pinda*; one kind of them reſembles ſmall cheſnuts, and theſe grow in bunches on a tree. The others are produced by a ſhrub, and grow under ground; both have ſweet oily kernels: of the laſt there are two

 in

CHAP. XIX.

in one pod; they are agreeable eating raw, but ſtill better when roaſted in hot aſhes. To illuſtrate the above deſcriptions, I preſent the reader with the plate annexed, where *A* is a ſprig of limes in full ripeneſs; *B*, the Cayenne or *cica* pepper; *C*, the pimento pepper or *lattacaca*; *D*, the capſicum called *dago-peepee*; *E*, the mammee apple when it is fully ripe; *F*, the leaf above, of a beautiful green; *G*, the leaf below, of a yellowiſh green; *H*, the piſtachio nut in the huſk; *I*, the ground piſtachio in its dried ſtate; *K*, one of the kernels belonging to the latter.

The whole of the above were taken from nature, though upon a ſmall ſcale; yet I flatter myſelf they will be found more perfect copies of the originals than ſome of Mad. Merian's, with all their boaſted reputation.—I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without a few other remarks on the incorrectneſs of this lady's drawings. For inſtance, her leaf of the lime-tree is evidently too round; and if by her *paliſade branch*, in plate XI. ſhe means the manicole-tree, I muſt declare I never diſcovered ſuch a leaf among the many thouſands I have helped to cut down. Her cotton twig, and eſpecially the pod containing the cotton, are alſo no true repreſentation of thoſe which are produced in Surinam.

In another place ſhe declares, that grapes are common in Guiana—which I alſo muſt contradict; for it is well known, that no thin-ſkinned fruit can ever come to perfection in a tropical climate, ſuch as grapes, cherries, currants,

Limes, Capsicum, Mammy Apple &c.

London Published Dec.r 2nd 1793, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

52

ſtrawberries, plums, apricots, and peaches, nor even common apples or pears. CHAP. XIX.

From the above obſervations, I take the liberty to ſay, that allowing Mad. Merian due praiſe for her beautiful and valuable performance upon the whole, ſhe has ſtill fallen into very notable miſtakes. To correct them is a duty incumbent on future obſervers; nor does it by any means imply a general cenſure on the elegant work in queſtion, nor can it appear extraordinary that it ſhould contain ſome errors, when we conſider that it is above an hundred years ago ſince ſhe preſented her diſcoveries to the world. In the courſe of ſo many years therefore mankind, by long experience and continued inveſtigation, have become more enlightened, and are more accurately informed.

Being now once more at Paramaribo, it may not be improper to divert our attention for a while from the animal and vegetable productions to the government of this fine colony; a topic which, I am perſuaded, ſome of my readers have long ſince expected; but not having had a previous opportunity of gratifying their curioſity, I will no longer delay the neceſſary information, though to ſome the detail may appear dry and unentertaining.

I have already mentioned the nature of the charter, and ſtated, that at preſent two-thirds of Surinam belong to the town of Amſterdam, and one-third to the Weſt India Company: alſo, that the judicial power is exerciſed by ſeveral different courts of judicature.—I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe them in their proper order, as deli-

CHAP. XIX.

vered to me by the governor Mr. Nepveu. The court of policy and criminal juſtice claims the firſt rank in the order of precedence—this conſiſts of thirteen members, choſen by the votes of the inhabitants, and each member continues for life. Of this court the governor is preſident, and the commandant or deputy governor firſt counſellor. The acting officers are therefore

The governor.
The commandant.
The fiſcal.
The town clerk; and
Nine counſellors.

To this court belongs the deciſion of all criminal matters, the governor exerciſing the power of reprieve from death, and even pardoning any convict by his own authority.

The court of civil juſtice conſiſts alſo of thirteen members, but theſe are choſen by the above court only, and are renewed every four years. The governor is alſo preſident here, and the officers of this court are

The governor.
The fiſcal.
The town-clerk; and
Ten counſellors.

By this court are decided not only the moſt important law-ſuits, but alſo petty offences.

The next is the ſubaltern college, conſiſting of eleven members, choſen alſo by the governor and court of policy;

and,

and, like the other, renewed every four years, the town-clerk excepted, who ſits for life. The members are ſelect-ed from the late counſellors of juſtice, and are

The deputy preſident.
The town-clerk; and
Nine counſellors.

The above court ſuperintends the public buildings, ſtreets, orange-trees, canals, &c. and decides all pecuniary diſ-putes that are under twenty-five guineas; any ſum above which muſt be referred to the court of juſtice.

Beſides theſe, there is an orphan and inſolvent debtors college, conſiſting of

The commiſſaries.
The town-clerk.
The book-keeper.
The treaſurer; and
A ſworn ſecretary.

The public revenue offices are:

The office of importation and exportation duties.
The office of exciſe and ſmall impoſts.
The office for head-money, or poll-tax.
The office for public ſales and vendues.
The office for re-taking negro deſerters, &c.

But theſe I ſhall more amply explain when I ſpeak of the general revenue of this colony, and for the preſent ſhall only conſider its government. I have formerly men-tioned that the governor is at the head not only of the

civil

CHAP. XIX.

civil but military departments; the other public employments are chiefly

The ſecretary to his excellency the governor.

The commiſſaries of the victualling-offices.

Four inſpectors of the exportation of ſugars.

One inſpector of the melaſſes hogſheads.

One ſupervíſor of all the North American veſſels.

Two public auctioneers.

Two ſerjeants or meſſengers of the court.

Two ſworn land-ſurveyors.

Three meaſurers of the ſquared timber.

One inſpector of the black cattle, &c.

One ſworn overſeer of weights and meaſures.

Three Low-Dutch clergymen.

One French clergyman.

One Lutheran clergyman.

Three public ſchoolmaſters, &c.

The militia conſiſts of eleven companies, with one captain, one lieutenant, one ſecond lieutenant, one enſign, one ſecretary, and one caſhier each. The captains are generally the ſworn appraiſers of the eſtates for ſale on the different rivers, where they chance to have their department.

Theſe are the principal functionaries in the government of Surinam; which is not originally upon a bad eſtabliſhment, were it not depraved by ſordid avarice, to the great detriment of this beautiful ſettlement in general, and to that of its inhabitants in particular. The

colony,

colony, by proper management, might be made a garden of Eden, not only for the European ſettlers, but alſo for their African domeſtics. It would not indeed be difficult to ſuggeſt improvements, nor even to carry them into effect. What has occurred to me upon the ſubject, I will candidly ſtate on another occaſion; and I have no doubt but a little attention even to one ſingle point would be productive of the happieſt conſequences. Thus, if I cannot on the ſpot, like the good Samaritan, pour the balm into the wound of any one ſufferer, at leaſt I can leave the preſcription, which, if properly applied, would, I am perſuaded, afford relief to the complaints of thouſands.

I have undertaken the unpleaſing taſk of ſhewing how, by the deſperate means of blood, the colony was frequently ſaved from total annihilation. How much more glorious would it be for thoſe who have it in their power not only to ſave the colony of Surinam, but many other valuable Weſt India ſettlements, by the help of a WELL-PLANNED INSTITUTION OF GENERAL AND IMPARTIAL JUSTICE, and the laudable example of humanity and benevolence!

Thus much for the political government of Surinam; which I will not leave without tranſcribing its motto, ſo very contrary to what they profeſs, being "*Juſtitia—* "*pietas—fides.*" The arms are tripartite, which I apprehend to be ſome of thoſe of the houſe of Somelſdyke, the Weſt India company, and the town of Amſterdam, crowned and ſupported by two lions rampant, and with

theſe

CHAP. XIX.

thefe are ftamped all their card money, &c. —— But to proceed with my journal.

On the 30th I met the poor failor, Charles Macdonald, and having juft bought thirty gallons of Grenada rum, I gave him a handfome return for his bacon ham and his dog, befides a fine cork-fcrew (mother-of-pearl fet in filver) as a keep-fake, he being to fail the day following for Virginia, on board the Peggy, Captain Lewis, who, at my recommendation, promifed to make him his mate. As I am fpeaking of dogs, I muft make two general remarks on thefe animals in Guiana, *viz.* that in this quarter of the world they lofe the faculty, or at leaft the habit, of barking; and it is a known fact, that the native dogs never bark at all. In this country, it is obferved alfo, that dogs are never feized with the hydrophobia, at leaft I never remember to have feen or heard of a mad dog in Surinam: and this is the more fingular, as that dreadful diftemper is generally attributed in other countries to the intenfe heat of the *Caniculares* or dog-days, as that appellation fufficiently indicates. The Indians or natives of Guiana all keep dogs, which they ufe in hunting; they are of a dirty white colour, meagre, and fmall, with fhort hair, a fharp muzzle, and erect ears: all thefe are very dexterous in finding game; but they poffefs all the mifchievous qualities of the terrier. I ought not to forget that if the American dogs do not bark, their howl is very loud; on this account my Virginian dog was fo trouble-

4 fome,

ſome, that he got his brains knocked out by the neighbours within a fortnight after he was in my poſſeſſion.

About this period ſeveral *American* families arrived at Paramaribo, on account of the war which broke out between the mother country and her colonies. For many of theſe I felt very much; and muſt ever declare, that no people could have a better heart or greater friendſhip for a Britiſh individual than they had for me, which they ſhewed on many different occaſions.

On the 3d of Auguſt, Mr. de Graav being arrived in town, having finally ſettled affairs with Mr. Lolkens, the late adminiſtrator of Fauconberg, I now thought proper to take the firſt opportunity of ſettling matters with him, by propoſing him to give me credit till I ſhould have it in my power to pay the money for which Joanna and my Johnny had been ſold to me, and which I was determined to ſave out of my pay, if I ſhould exiſt on bread, ſalt, and water: though even then this debt could not be diſcharged in leſs time than two or three years. Providence however interfered, and at this moment ſent that excellent woman, Mrs. Godefroy, to my aſſiſtance: for no ſooner was ſhe acquainted with my difficult and anxious ſituation, than ſhe ſent for me to dine with her, when ſhe addreſſed me in the following terms:

" I know, good Stedman, the preſent feelings of your " heart, and the incapacity of an officer, from his income " only, to accompliſh ſuch a purpoſe as the completion of your wiſhes. But know, that even in Surinam

CHAP. XIX.

"virtue will meet with friends. Your manly fenfibility "for that deferving young woman and her child muft "claim the efteem of all rational perfons, in fpite of ma- "lice and folly: and fo much has this action recom- "mended you to my attention in particular, that I fhould "think myfelf culpable in not patronizing your lauda- "ble intentions. Permit me then to participate in your "happinefs, and in the future profpect of the virtuous "Joanna and her little boy, by requefting your accept- "ance of the fum of *two thoufand florins*, or any fum "you ftand in need of; with which money go imme- "diately, Stedman, go and redeem innocence, good "fenfe, and beauty from the jaws of tyranny, oppref- "fion, and infult."

Seeing me thunder-ftruck, and gazing upon her in a ftate of ftupefaction, without the power of fpeaking, fhe continued, with a divine benignity:

"Let not your delicacy, my friend, take the alarm, "and interfere in this bufinefs: foldiers and failors "ought ever to be the men of feweft compliments; "and all I expect from you is, that you fay not one "word more on the fubject."—As foon as I recovered I replied, "that I was at a lofs how to exprefs my ad- "miration of fuch benevolence." I faid, "that Joanna, "who had fo frequently preferved my life, had cer- "tainly merited my eternal affection; but that my gra- "titude could not be lefs to one who had fo generoufly "put me in the way of redeeming that invaluable wo-

CHAP. XIX.

"man from ſlavery;" and concluded with obſerving, "that I could not now touch a ſhilling of *the money*, but "ſhould have the honour to call upon her the next day; "and immediately retired."

I was no ſooner returned home, than I acquainted Joanna with all that had happened; who, burſting into tears, called out, "*Gado ſa breſſe da woma!*"— "God will bleſs this woman!" and inſiſted that ſhe herſelf ſhould be mortgaged to Mrs. Godefroy till every farthing ſhould be paid: ſhe indeed was very anxious to ſee the emancipation of her boy, but till that was done, ſhe abſolutely refuſed to accept of her own freedom. I ſhall not here endeavour to paint the conteſt which I ſuſtained between affection and duty, but bluntly ſay that I yielded to the wiſh of this ſo charming creature, and whoſe ſentiments endeared her to me ſtill more. Thus I inſtantly drew up a paper, declaring my Joanna, according to her deſire, from this day to be the property of Mrs. Godefroy, till the laſt farthing of the money ſhe lent me ſhould be repaid; and, on the following day, with the conſent of her relations *, I conducted her to Mrs. Godefroy's houſe, where, throwing herſelf at the feet of that incomparable woman, Joanna herſelf put the paper into her hands; but this lady having raiſed her up, no ſooner had read the contents, than ſhe exclaimed, "Muſt it be ſo? Then come here, my Joanna,

* Without the conſent of parents, brothers, and ſiſters, no reſpectable ſlaves are individually ſold in Surinam.

"I have

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

CHAP. XIX.

"I have a ſpirit to accept of you not as my ſlave, but more "as my companion: you ſhall have a houſe built in my "orange-garden, with my own ſlaves to attend you, till "Providence ſhall call me away, when you ſhall be perfectly free, as indeed you now are the moment you "wiſh to poſſeſs your manumiſſion; and this you claim "both by your extraction and your conduct *." On theſe terms, and on no other, I accepted of the money on the 5th, and carrying it in my hat to Mr. de Graav's, I laid it on his table, demanding a receipt in full; and Joanna was transferred from the wretched eſtate Fauconberg, to the protection of the firſt woman perhaps in all the Dutch Weſt-Indies, if not in the world; and for which ſhe thanked me with a look that could only be expreſſed by the COUNTENANCE OF AN ANGEL.

Mr. de Graav, on counting the money, addreſſed me in the following terms:—"Stedman, two hundred florins of "this ſum belong to me as adminiſtrator. Permit me "alſo to have a ſmall ſhare in this happy event, by not "accepting this dividend, as I ſhall find myſelf amply "paid by the pleaſure of having been inſtrumental in "bringing about what ſeems ſo much to contribute to "the enjoyment of two deſerving people."

Having thanked my diſintereſted friend with an affectionate ſhake by the hand, I immediately returned the

* I have already mentioned that Joanna was by birth a gentleman's daughter from Holland; and her mother's family were moſt diſtinguiſhed people on the coaſt of Africa.

two

two hundred florins to Mrs. Godefroy, and all were happy. I muſt not omit, as a farther proof of Mrs. Godefroy's humane character, that on hearing of the dejected ſituation of the ſick at Magdenberg, ſhe at this time ſent them a preſent of a whole barge-load of fruit, vegetables, and refreſhments of every kind that the colony could afford, for their relief.

On the 7th of April, matters being thus far ſettled, I wrote a letter to Mr. Lude, at Amſterdam, to give him intelligence, and to thank him for having parted with the *moſt valuable* property of his eſtate; and my ancle being now pretty well recovered, I alſo wrote to Colonel Fourgeoud, that I ſhould have the honour to join him in a few days. This letter I directed to Barbacoeba, for there he ſtill continued, while the intrepid and active militia captain, Stoeleman, was beating up the woods with a few rangers at another quarter, and who this day ſent in four captive rebel negroes to Paramaribo *.

On the 10th, finding myſelf ſufficiently recovered, and ready once more to enter the foreſt, I bade farewell to my ſweet family and friends, leaving the firſt ſtill at Mr. de la Mare's, at their requeſt; and cheerfully ſet off with a tent-boat on my *fifth* campaign, in the hopes of accompanying Fourgeoud; who, having aſſembled all his remaining forces, and made the neceſſary arrangements to attack

* It is a maxim with the rangers to chop off the right hand of every rebel negro they kill, for which they receive twenty-five florins; and for every one they ſend in alive fifty florins; alſo for finding a town or village one thouſand florins Hollands.

the

CHAP. XIX.

the enemy, was now determined to march in a very few days.

On the 14th I arrived with a boat at Barbacoeba, in the upper part of the river Cottica, where formerly I was when I killed the *aboma* ſnake. I found here the old gentleman (who civilly welcomed me) ready to ſtart the following day. I never ſaw the troops in ſuch fine ſpirits, or ſo eager for ſervice; which proceeded from different motives, as I had ſaid before, ſome in the hopes of plunder, ſome from revenge on the rebels, and ſome from a wiſh to ſee the war at an end; while I believe in my ſoul, that others were tired of exiſtence by continual illneſs and hard ſervice; and heartily wiſhed for a glorious end of all their miſeries—as nothing can be more wretched than a ſoldier's or a ſailor's life, perpetually ſoaking in the wet or ſcorching in the ſun, ſurrounded by an unbounded foreſt, and in a tropical climate.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

A Rebel Negro deſcribed — Buſh-fighting — Sentimental Expreſſions of the African Blacks — The Town of Gado-Saby taken by Colonel Fourgeoud — Superſtition — Wonderful Expedients — Great Generalſhip in the Enemy.

ON the 15th of Auguſt 1775, the rebels, fluſhed with their late victory over Captain Meyland and his party, whether with a deſign to brave Fourgeoud, or to intimidate his troops, being well appriſed by their ſpies that he was at Barbacoeba, had the aſſurance to ſet fire to all the huts in two different camps which had been left ſtanding by his patroles, while they continued ſhouting and hallooing the whole night within our hearing; but this only proved an incentive to action, and enraged our veteran commander ſo much, that he now declared he would have ample revenge at all hazards. During this night a large tiger alſo alarmed the camp, but did no damage of any kind.

An hour before day-break next morning, Colonel Fourgeoud, with his troops, were ready to march, and immediately entered the woods. They now amounted exactly to two hundred Europeans fit for ſervice, the reſt being

CHAP. XX.

being ill and unfit for ſervice; but no rangers were as yet arrived, though they had been expected. The fact was, they were ſo much diſguſted with Fourgeoud's command, that they did not appear at all, which afforded this gentleman for once an opportunity of ſtigmatizing them as a band of puſillanimous raſcals; and I confeſs I was myſelf extremely aſtoniſhed at this wilful abſence of my black favourites, who were at other times ſo eager to ruſh upon the enemy, and had declared their ſatisfaction at the hopes of a deciſive engagement with their ſable countrymen.

This whole day our courſe was due E.; and after proceeding about eight miles (which is a great diſtance in this country, where the pioneers with bill-hooks muſt conſtantly open a path), we erected huts, and encamped. Having frequently mentioned the *rebel-negroes* with whom we were now certain to have a rencontre, I preſent the reader with the figure of one of theſe people, upon his guard, as alarmed by a ruſtling amongſt the buſhes. At a diſtance are ſuppoſed a couple of our rangers, waiting the moment to take him by ſurprize. This rebel negro is armed with a firelock and a hatchet; his hair, though woolly, may be obſerved to be plaited cloſe to his head, by way of diſtinction from the rangers, or any other ſtraggling negroes, who are not yet accepted amongſt them; his beard is grown to a point, like that of all the Africans, when they have no opportunity of ſhaving. The principal dreſs of this man

6 conſiſts

Bartolozzi Sculp.t

A Rebel Negro armed & on his guard.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1794, by J. Johnson, S.t Paul's Church Yard.

53

CHAP. XX.

onſiſts of a cotton ſheet, negligently tied acroſs his ſhoulders, which protects him from the weather, and ſerves him alſo to reſt on; while he always ſleeps under cover in the moſt obſcure places he can find, when detached from his companions. The reſt of his dreſs is a camiſa, tied around his loins like a handkerchief; his pouch, which is made of ſome animal's ſkin; a few cotton ſtrings for ornament around his ancles and wriſts; and a ſuperſtitious *obia* or amulet tied about his neck, in which he places all his confidence. The ſkull and ribs are ſuppoſed to be the bones of his enemies, ſcattered upon the ſandy ſavannah.

The two rangers who make their appearance at a diſtance may be diſtinguiſhed by their *red caps*; and here I muſt obſerve, that the rebels have many times availed themſelves of ſeizing one of theſe ſcarlet diſtinctions, which by clapping on their own heads in an engagement, has not only ſaved their lives, but given them an opportunity of ſhooting their enemies.

Another ſtratagem of theirs has ſometimes been diſcovered, *viz.* that fire-arms being ſcarce amongſt them, numbers have intermixed in the crowd, with a *crooked ſtick* ſhaped ſomething like a muſket; and this appearance has more than once had the effect of preventing a proper defence by the plantation ſlaves, when the rebels came to ranſack the eſtates; while with this ſhow of armed numbers they have often ſtruck ſuch a panic, and ſo damped the courage of the former, that they have

CHAP. XX.

been calmly permitted, after burning their houfes, even to carry away their wives and daughters.

On the 16th we continued our march due E. upon a ridge or elevated ground. Thefe ridges, if I miftake not, run generally in this country E. and W. as do alfo moft of the marfhes and fwamps. Having advanced rather a lefs diftance than we did the day before, we were ordered early to fling our hammocks, and to fleep without any covering, to prevent the enemy from hearing the found of cutting the trees; nor were any fires allowed to be lighted, nor a word to be fpoken, while a ftrict watch was kept round the camp. Thefe, in fact, were all very neceffary precautions; but if we were not difcovered by the enemy, we were almoft devoured by the clouds of *gnats* or mufquitoes, which arofe from a neighbouring marfh: for my own part I fuffered more here than I had even done on board the fatal barges in the upper Cottica, as we could make no fmoke to drive them away. In this fituation I faw the poor men dig holes with their bayonets in the earth, into which they thruft their heads, ftopping the entry and covering their necks with their hammocks, while they lay with their bellies on the ground. To fleep in any other pofition was abfolutely impoffible.

By the advice of a negro flave, I however enjoyed my reft.—" Climb," faid he, " maffera, with your hammock " to the top of the higheft tree that is in the camp, and " there go fleep; not a fingle mufquito will difturb you, " the fwarm will be fufficiently attracted by the fmell of

" the ſweating multitude below."—This I immediately tried, and ſlept exalted near one hundred feet above my companions, whom I could not ſee for the myriads of muſquitoes below me, nor even hear them, from the inceſſant buzzing of theſe troubleſome inſects.

This was the principal diſtreſs of the night; while, during the day, we had frequently been attacked by whole armies of ſmall emmets, called here *fire-ants*, from their painful biting. Theſe inſects are black, and very diminutive, but live in ſuch amazing multitudes together, that their hillocks have ſometimes obſtructed our paſſage by their ſize, over which, if one chances to paſs, the feet and legs are inſtantly covered with innumerable of theſe creatures, which ſeize the ſkin with ſuch violence in their pincers, that they will ſooner ſuffer the head to be parted from their body, than let go their hold. The burning pain which they occaſion cannot, in my opinion, proceed from the ſharpneſs of their pincers only, but muſt be owing to ſome venomous fluid which they infuſe, or which the wound imbibes from them. I can aver that I have ſeen them make a whole company hop about, as if they had been ſcalded with boiling water.

On the 17th we continued our march ſtill due E. till nine o'clock, when we altered our courſe to the N. and had to ſcramble through great quantities of thoſe mataky roots, or trumpeters already deſcribed, which proved that we were deſcending into the low grounds, and indeed the ſoil ſoon became very marſhy; fortunately, however, though it was now the wet ſeaſon, we had as yet very little rain.

N 2 This

CHAP. XX.

This evening we encamped about four o'clock, Colonel Fourgeoud being ſeized with a cold fit of the ague.

As I was ſlinging my hammock between two large branches, but not ſo high as the preceding night, my eye chanced to fall upon what I conceived to be the leaf of a tree, but which appeared to move and crawl up the trunk. I called ſeveral officers to ſee it: when a gentleman of the Society exclaimed, "*C'eſt la feuille ambulante*," That is the walking leaf. Upon cloſer examination it proved to be an inſect, whoſe wings ſo perfectly repreſent a leaf, that by many it has been miſtaken for a vegetable production. This ſeemed to be a ſpecies of graſshopper, but covered over with four wings of an oval form, and about three inches in length, the two uppermoſt ſo folded together as to appear exactly like a brown leaf, with all the fibres, &c.

I now returned to my hammock; where, reflecting on all the wonders of nature, while the ſilver-moon glittering through the verdure added beauty to the ſcene, I fell into a profound ſleep, which I enjoyed till near midnight, when we were all awaked in pitch darkneſs and a heavy ſhower of rain, by the hallooing and ſhouting of the rebel negroes, who diſcharged ſeveral muſkets; but as the ſhot did not reach our camp, we were extremely aſtoniſhed, the darkneſs rendering it impoſſible to form any juſt idea of their meaning. This diſturbance continuing till near day-break, made us expect every moment to be ſurrounded, and keep a very ſharp look-out.

In the morning early we unlaſhed our hammocks, and

marched

arched due N. towards the place whence we conjectured the hallooing noiſe to have proceeded, being all much fatigued for want of reſt, eſpecially Colonel Fourgeoud, who could hardly ſupport himſelf, ſo much was he weakened by the ague. We had not marched above two miles, I having the van-guard, when a *rebel negro* ſprang up at my feet from under a ſhrub, where he had been aſleep; but as we had orders not to fire upon ſtragglers, he eſcaped, running with almoſt the ſwiftneſs of a ſtag amongſt the brambles. I no ſooner made report to the old hero, than, ſwearing he was a ſpy, which I believe was true, he ſhook off his illneſs, and quickened his pace with redoubled vigour: but our purſuit was to no purpoſe, at leaſt this day; for about one o'clock we got into a bog, from which we could hardly extricate ourſelves, and were forced to return to our laſt night's encampment, miſſing two privates of the Society troops, whom we ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the marſh.

This day we ſaw great quantities of arnotta-trees, with which this part of the foreſt abounds. In the evening a ſlave preſented me with a *buſh-ſpider* of ſuch magnitude, that putting him into a caſe-bottle above eight inches high, he actually reached the ſurface with ſome of his hideous claws, whilſt the others were reſting upon the bottom. No creature can be more dreadfully ugly than this enormous ſpider, which the people of Surinam erroneouſly call the *tarantula*. The body is divided in two, the poſterior part oval, and the ſize of an Orlean-plum; the fore-part ſquare, with a figure ſomewhat

CHAP. XX.

what resembling a star upon it. This monster has five pair of thick legs, with four joints in each; is entirely black or dark brown, and covered over, legs and all, with thick and long black hair, like some caterpillars, while each leg is armed with a crooked yellow nail, and from the head project two long teeth with inverted pincers, resembling the claw of a crab, with which it seizes its prey; while its bite, if not fatal by the venomous liquid infused into the wound, always occasions a fever. It has eight eyes like most spiders, and feeds on insects of every species; nay, it is even asserted, that young birds do not escape it, out of which this spider sucks the blood: its web is small but very strong. Upon the whole, it is such a hideous creature, that the very sight of it is sufficient to occasion a tremor of abhorrence, even in persons most accustomed to inspect the deformities of nature. Innumerable indeed are the pests and dangers to which one is hourly exposed in the woods of this tropical climate; and though it is my present business only to make mention of such as I met with in this march, and which must appear new to the reader, yet a recapitulation of the names only of our numerous plagues may not be improper to refresh the memory of those who have a heart to sympathize with our sufferings. I have already mentioned the *musquitoes*, *monpieras*, *patat* and *serapat lice*, *chigoes*, *cock-roaches*, *common ants*, *fire-ants*, *horse-flies*, *wild bees*, and *spiders*; besides the *prickly heat*, *ring-worm*, *dry-gripes*, *putrid fevers*, *boils*, *consaca*, *bloody-flux*, *thorns*, *briars*, *alligators*,

alligators, *ſnakes*, *tigers*, &c.; but I have not yet ſpoken of the *buſh-worms*, *large ants*, *locuſts*, *centipedes*, *ſcorpions*, *bats*, and *flying-lice*, the *craſſy-craſſy*, *yaws*, *lethargy*, *leproſy*, and *dropſy*, with a thouſand other grievances that continually annoyed our unhappy troops; — a particular deſcription of which I muſt delay till a more ſuitable opportunity occurs for introducing them into this narrative.

Such were the peſts that we had to ſtruggle with in this baneful climate, whilſt our poor men were dying in multitudes, without proper aſſiſtance, unpitied, and frequently without a friend to cloſe their eye-lids, neither coffin nor ſhell to receive their bones, but thrown promiſcuouſly into one pit, like heaps of loathſome carrion.

On the 19th, we again left our encampment, and after keeping a little S. marched E. till ten o'clock, when we were overtaken and joined by a party of one hundred rangers, with their conductor, Mr. *Vinſack*, to my great ſatisfaction. At this period we muſtered three hundred men; and however little Colonel Fourgeoud affected, at other times, to value theſe black ſoldiers, he was now not at all diſpleaſed with their company, upon our near approach to an enemy with whom the rangers were well acquainted, and knew how to engage much better than the marines: while it will ever be my opinion, that one of theſe free negroes is preferable to half a dozen white men in the foreſt of Guiana; it indeed ſeems their natural element, whilſt it is the bane of the Europeans.

Colonel

CHAP. XX.

Colonel Fourgeoud now iſſued orders for our little army to march in three lines or columns, his own regiment in the centre, the Society troops on the right, the rangers or black ſoldiers on the left, all within hearing of each other, with a few *flankers* or riflemen outſide the whole: thus formed we advanced till about noon, when we changed our courſe from E. to N. E. and continued our march over a *biree-biree* ſwamp, or quagmire: theſe are very common and dangerous in this country, being a deep ſoft miry bog, covered over with a thin cruſt of verdûre, ſufficient in moſt places to bear the weight of a man, and quaking when walked over; but ſhould this cruſt give way, whoever breaks it is ſwallowed up in the chaſm, where he muſt inevitably periſh if not immediately extricated; thus it has frequently happened that men have been ſeen to ſink, and have never more been heard of.

Quickſands are quite different, as they overwhelm by a gradual ſuction, whereas the effects of a quagmire are inſtantaneous. To avoid accidents, we opened our files as much as poſſible, which occaſioned a very long rear; but even with this precaution ſeveral men ſunk through it, as if the ice had broken under their feet, and ſome in my preſence up to the arm-pits, but were fortunately, though with much difficulty, extricated.

In the afternoon we paſſed through two old *caſſava* fields, which indicated our near approach to the rebel ſettlement; we afterwards fell in with Captain Meyland's path,

path, which we knew by the marks cut upon the trees, as before explained. The evening being too far advanced to attack the enemy, we once more encamped a few miles from the ſwamp in which Captain Meyland and his party had been defeated. CHAP. XX.

Having had a long march, and the men being much fatigued, Colonel Fourgeoud allowed, during this night, both huts and fires; which ſurprized me greatly, being ſo near the rebels, though he had forbidden theſe comforts when we were at a very conſiderable diſtance from them. I however availed myſelf of his bounty, and having got ſome *pigeon-peas* from my ſerjeant, which he had picked up in the old caſſava grounds, and laid hold of one of the kettles, I invited him, and a captain of the black corps called *Hannibal*, to a ſhare; who having thrown their ſalt-beef and ruſk-biſcuit into the meſs with mine, and ſtirred it round with a bayonet, we made a very excellent ſupper, though in a ſad dreary night and heavy rain.

The *pigeon* or *Angola* peas grow on a ſhrub about eight or ten feet high; five or ſix of theſe peas are contained in a pod; they are flat like lentils, and of a reddiſh-brown colour: the negroes are extremely fond of them, and cultivate them in their gardens without any expence or much trouble.

Hannibal now obſerving that we ſhould certainly ſee the enemy to-morrow, aſked me if I knew in what manner negro engaged againſt negro? Having anſwered in the negative, he gave me the following relation, while

CHAP. XX.

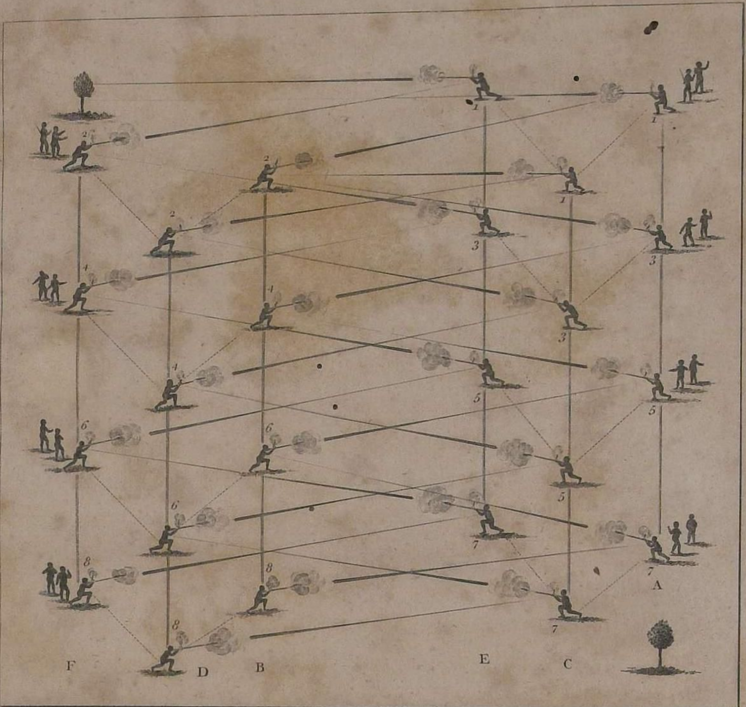
ſmoking his pipe under my hammock.—" Maſſera," ſaid he, " both parties are divided in ſmall companies of " eight or ten men, commanded by a captain, with a horn, " ſuch as this (ſhewing me his) by which they do every " thing, and fight or run away. When they fight they " ſeparate immediately, lie down on the ground, and fire " at the flaſh of each other's pans through the trees; " while each warrior is ſupported by two negroes un-" armed, the one to take his place if he is killed, and " the other to carry away the dead body, to prevent its " falling into the hands of their adverſaries *."

From this diſcourſe I perfectly underſtood his meaning, which I have ſince ſeen put in practice; and for the clearer conception of the reader, I have illuſtrated it with the following plan, where the whole engagement is exhibited at one view.

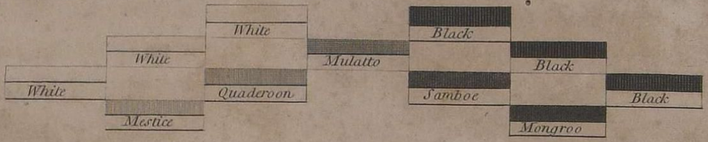
The two columns *E* and *F* are ſuppoſed to be firſt engaged, where N° 1 in the column *E* commences the attack by firing at random in the oppoſite buſhes; and inſtantly retires, by ſhifting his place to N° 1 in the column *C*, where he re-loads; while N° 2 in the column *F*, having fired at the flaſh of his pan, advances in the ſame manner, ſhifting his ſtation to re-load at N° 2 in the column *D*; and at the flaſh of whoſe pan N° 3 fires in *E*, and receives the fire of N° 4 in *F*, &c. &c. Thus continuing through both lines, till N° 8 has fired in *F*,

* The negroes have a ſavage cuſtom of mangling and tearing the dead bodies of their enemies; ſome even devouring part of them with their teeth, like the Caribbee Indians.

when



Manner of Bush-fighting by the African Negroes.



Gradation of Shades between Europe & Africa.

London, Published Decr. 1st 1791, by J. Johnson St. Paul's Church Yard.

when the whole have ſhifted their ſtations; and the ſame manœuvre is continued with the columns *C* and *D*, beginning again with the identical numbers 1, 2, 3, &c. at the top; while theſe lines, having ſhifted their places, ſtill the firing is repeated by the lines *A* and *B*, and thus *ad infinitum*, until by ſounding the horn one of the parties gives way in flight, and the battle is over. I ſhall only add, that when the foreſt is thick, inſtead of lying on their bellies, or kneeling, each negro ſkulks behind a thick tree, which ſerves him as a bulwark, and from which he fires at his adverſary with more certainty and leſs danger, uſually reſting his piece againſt the trunk, or in the forked branches, like the *Shawaneſe* and *Delaware* Indians.

Captain Hannibal alſo informed me, that the famous chief *Bonny* was ſuppoſed to be in perſon amongſt the neighbouring rebels; and that he was born in the foreſt amongſt them, notwithſtanding his being a mulatto, which was accounted for by his mother eſcaping to the woods from the ill treatment of her maſter, by whom ſhe was then pregnant.

Having frequently mentioned the different ſhades between a *black* and a *white*, the ſame plate repreſents them to the reader at one view. From the above two colours the *mulatto* is produced; from the mulatto and black, the *ſamboo*; from the mulatto and white, the *quaderoon*, &c. &c.—This ſable warrior made me alſo acquainted with the names of ſeveral other rebel com-

CHAP. XX.

manders, againſt whom he had frequently fought for the Europeans. Such as *Quammy*, who was the chief of a ſeparate gang, and had no connection with the others; *Coromantyn*, *Cojo*, *Arico*, and *Joli-Cœur*; the two laſt being celebrated captains, whoſe revenge was inſatiable againſt the whites, particularly *Joli-Cœur*'s, who had I confeſs great reaſon, as has been already ſtated. The noted rebel negro *Baron*, he believed, was now ſerving alſo under the great chief *Bonny*.

He next proceeded to tell me the names of the principal rebel ſettlements, ſome of which were already deſtroyed, ſome now in view, and ſome of theſe were only known to us by name. Theſe appellations were all very expreſſive indeed; and as they may ſerve in ſome meaſure to elucidate our enquiries concerning the negro nations, I have thought proper to give them a place in this narrative, with their meaning in an Engliſh tranſlation; *viz.*

Boucoo - - -	I ſhall moulder before I ſhall be taken.
Gado Saby - -	God only knows me, and none elſe.
Coſaay - - -	Come try me, if you be men.
Teſſee See - -	Take a taſting, if you like it.
Mele me - - -	Do diſturb me, if you dare.
Booſy Cray - -	The woods lament for me.
Me Salaſy - -	I ſhall be taken.
Kebree me - -	Hide me, O thou ſurrounding verdure.

The

The others were:

Quammi Condre -	From Quammi, the name of the chief.
Pinenburgh - -	From the pines or manicole-trees which formerly ſurrounded it.
Caro Condre - -	From the quantity of maize it afforded.
Reiſee Condre -	From the quantity of rice it produced.

Such were the names of the negro warriors, and their ſettlements.

I now ſhook hands with Captain Hannibal, while my mind being occupied with the hopes of victory unſtained by cruelty, and being very much fatigued, I ſoon fell profoundly aſleep.

On the 20th in the morning, no one could awake in a more beautiful day and better ſpirits than I did, until they were damped by obſerving that at ſo critical a time, and even in the moment before the conflict, inſtead of that kind treatment which it would have been prudent to have ſhewn to thoſe from whoſe exertions we were to expect a happy period to our ſufferings, there was even then ſuch diſcouragement of the ſubaltern officers and private men as involuntarily drew from me the reflection—That (if poſſible to avoid it) *princes* and *miniſters* ſhould never inveſt any one *individual* with unlimited authority, eſpecially in a foreign country, without being perfectly well acquainted with the rectitude of their moral principles and diſpoſition; no men being fit to command but thoſe who are poſſeſſed of manly feelings, and whoſe valour is tempered with humanity;

 ſince

CHAP. XX.

ſince 'tis a truth that ſterling bravery is incompatible with a cruel heart.

At ſix o'clock we advanced N. E. by N. towards the marſh, my melancholy evaporating with the riſing ſun.

About eight o'clock we entered this formidable ſwamp, and ſoon found ourſelves above our middle in water, well prepared nevertheleſs for the warm reception we expected from the oppoſite ſhore, as the former party had ſo fatally experienced. After wading above half a mile, our grenadiers rapidly mounted the beach with cocked firelocks and bayonets fixed; the main body inſtantly followed, and alſo mounting the beach, the whole formed without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. We now beheld a ſpectacle ſufficient to ſhock the moſt intrepid, the ground ſtrewed with ſkulls, bones, and ribs ſtill covered with human fleſh, and beſmeared with the blood of thoſe unfortunate men who were killed with Captain Meyland. —That officer had indeed found means to bury them, but the rebels had dug them up for the ſake of their cloaths, and to mangle the bodies, which, like ferocious animals, they had torn limb from limb. Amongſt theſe, the fate of *Meyland's nephew*, a promiſing young man, was peculiarly affecting. He came from the mountains of Switzerland in queſt of military preferment, and met his fate in a marſh of Surinam juſt after his landing. His bravery was equal to that of his uncle, his intrepidity, voluntarily expoſing himſelf to danger, knew no bounds. —Such is the enthuſiaſm of military ambition.

"*And*

" *And 'tis moſt true,* while Time's relentleſs hand
" With ſickly graſp drags others to the tomb;
" The *ſoldier* ſcorns to wait the dull command,
" But ſprings impatient to a nobler doom.

" Tho' on the plain he lies, outſtretch'd and pale,
" Without one friend his ſtedfaſt eyes to cloſe,
" Yet on his *honour'd corpſe* ſhall many a gale
" Waft the moiſt fragrance of the weeping roſe.

" O'er the dread ſpot the melancholy moon
" Shall pauſe a while — a ſadder beam to ſhed;
" And ſtarry night amidſt her awful noon
" Sprinkle light dews upon his hallowed head.

" There too the ſolitary bird ſhall ſwell
" With long-drawn melody her plaintive throat;
" While diſtant echo from reſponſive cell
" Shall oft with fading force return the note.

" Such recompence be *valour*'s due alone."

* * * * * * *

This being the ſecond or third heap of human bones we had met with in our march, I frankly acknowledge did not operate upon me as a ſtimulative to engage with negroes; yet theſe awful relics ſpurred on the common ſoldiers to take revenge for the loſs of their maſſacred companions.

Having ſo frequently had occaſion to ſpeak of marching through a ſwamp, it may not be improper to illuſtrate

the

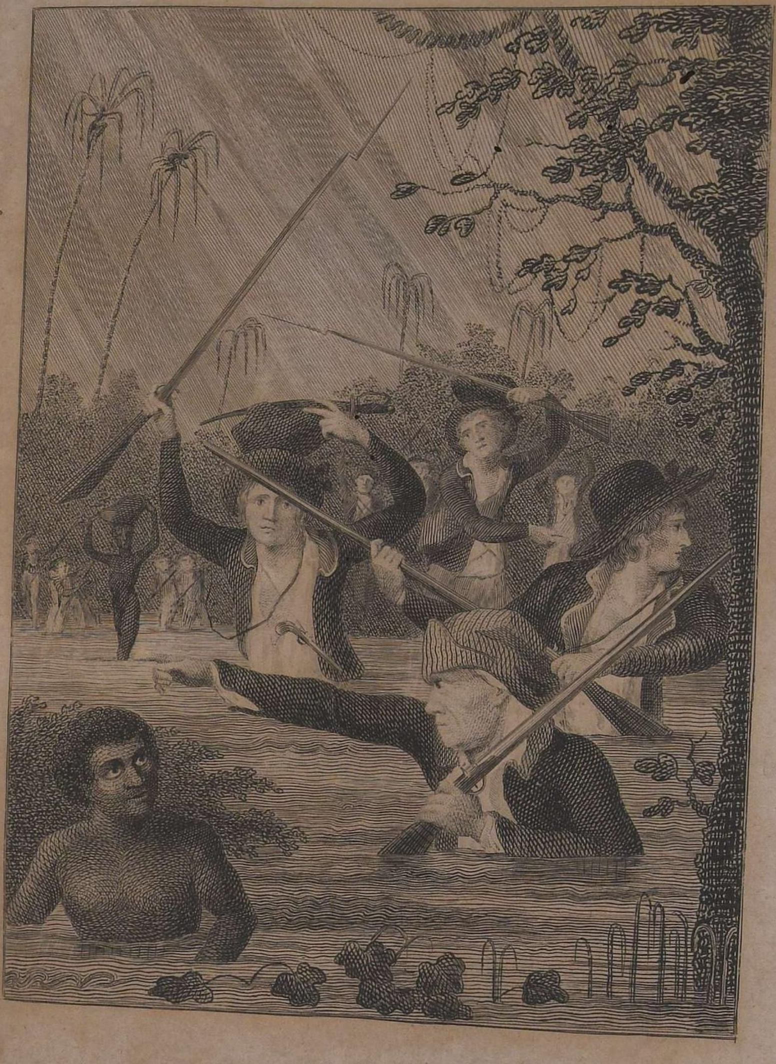
CHAP. XX.

the defcription by the *annexed drawing*. The firft figure reprefents Colonel Fourgeoud (preceded by a negro flave, as a guide, to give notice by his fwimming when the water deepens) followed by myfelf, fome other officers and marines, wading through the marfh above our middle, and carrying our arms, ammunition, and accoutrements above our heads, to prevent their being damaged by the wet.

In the back-ground may be feen the manner in which the flaves carry all burdens whatever on the head, and the mode of the rebel negroes firing upon the troops from the tops of high palm-trees, &c. A march of this nature, though occafionally neceffary in Surinam, muft be always very dangerous, being expofed to an attack from under cover of the furrounding bufhes, without having the power of returning the fire more than once; for in fuch a depth of water no foldier can re-load his mufket without wetting both the lock and the priming.

We now followed a kind of foot-path made by the enemy, which after a little turning led us in a wefterly direction. Serjeant *Fowler*, who preceded the van-guard, at this time came to me pale, declaring, that the fight of the mangled bodies had made him extremely fick; and that he felt himfelf completely difarmed, being that moment, as it were, rivetted to the ground, without the power of advancing one fingle ftep, or knowing how to conceal his tremor: —— I d—n'd him for a pitiful fcoundrel, and had only time to order him to the rear.

"No



March thro' a swamp or Marsh, in Terra-firma.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1794, by J. Johnson, S.t Paul's Church Yard.

35

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S S

CHAP. XX.

"No force, no firmneſs, the *pale coward* ſhews:
"He ſhifts his place, his colour comes and goes;
"A dropping ſweat creeps cold on every part,
"Againſt his boſom beats his quivering heart:
"*Terror and death* in his wild eye-balls ſtare; . . . . . .
"With chattering teeth he ſtands, and ſtiff'ning hair,
"And looks a bloodleſs image of deſpair." . . . .

At ten o'clock we met a ſmall party of the rebels, with each a green hamper upon his back; they fired at us, dropped their bundles, and taking to their heels ran back towards their village. Theſe we ſince learned were tranſporting *rice* to another ſettlement for their ſubſiſtence, when they ſhould be expelled from *Gado-Saby* (the name of this ſettlement)' which they daily expected, ſince they had been diſcovered by the gallant Captain Meyland. The green hampers, which they call *warimbos*, were very curiouſly plaited with the manicole leaves. And when our men cut them open with their ſabres, there burſt forth the moſt beautiful clean rice that I ever ſaw, which was ſcattered and trampled under foot, as we had no opportunity of carrying it along. A little after this we perceived an empty ſhed, where a picquet had been ſtationed to give notice of any danger, but they had precipitately deſerted their poſt. We now vigorouſly redoubled our pace till about noon; when two more muſket ſhot were fired at us by another advanced guard of the enemy, as a ſignal to the chief, *Bonny*, of our approach. Major Medler and myſelf, with a few of the

 van-

CHAP. XX.

van-guard, and a ſmall party of the rangers, at this time ruſhing forward, ſoon came to a fine field of rice and Indian corn: we here made a halt for the other troops, particularly to give time for our rear to cloſe up, ſome of whom were at leaſt two miles behind us; and during which period we might have been cut to pieces, the enemy, unknown to us, having ſurrounded the field in which we were, as we were afterwards informed.

In about half an hour the whole body joined us, when we inſtantly proceeded by cutting through a ſmall defile of the wood, into which we had no ſooner entered, than a heavy fire commenced from every ſide, the rebels retiring, and we advancing, until we arrived in the moſt beautiful field of ripe rice, in the form of an oblong ſquare, from which the *rebel town* appeared at a diſtance, in the form of an amphitheatre, ſheltered from the ſun by the foliage of a few lofty trees, the whole bepreſenting a *coup-d'œil* romantic and enchanting beyond conception. In this field the firing was kept up, like one continued peal of thunder, for above forty minutes, during which time our black warriors behaved with wonderful intrepidity and ſkill. The white ſoldiers were too eager, and fired over one another at random, yet I could perceive a few of them act with the utmoſt coolneſs, and imitate the rangers with great effect; amongſt theſe was *now* the once-daunted Fowler, who being rouſed from his tremor by the firing at the beginning of the onſet, had ruſhed to the front, and fully

re-eſtabliſhed

re-eſtabliſhed his character, by fighting like a brave fellow, by my ſide, until the muzzle of his muſket was ſplit by a ſhot from the enemy, which rendered it uſeleſs; a ball paſſed through my ſhirt, and grazed the ſkin of my ſhoulder; Mr. Decabanes, my lieutenant, had the ſling of his fuſee ſhot away: ſeveral others were wounded, ſome mortally, but I did not, to my ſurprize, obſerve one inſtance of *immediate* death—for which ſeeming miracle, however, I ſhall preſently account.

This whole field of rice was ſurrounded and interſperſed by the enemy with the large trunks and roots of heavy trees, in order to make our approach both difficult and dangerous; behind theſe temporary fortifications the rebels lay lurking, and firing upon us with deliberate aim, whilſt their *bulwarks* certainly protected them in ſome meaſure from the effects of our fire, we having vaſt numbers of theſe fallen trees to ſcramble over before we could reach the town: but we ſtill advanced, in defiance of every obſtacle, and while I admired the maſterly manœuvres of their general, I could not help pitying them for their ſuperſtition. One poor fellow, in particular, truſting to his *amulet* or charm, fancied himſelf invulnerable; he mounted frequently upon one of the trees that lay near us, diſcharged his piece, deſcended to re-load, and then with equal confidence and the greateſt deliberation returned to the charge in my full view; till at laſt a ſhot from one of my marines, named *Valet*, broke the bone of his thigh, and he fell crawling

CHAP. XX.

for ſhelter under the very ſame tree which had ſupported him juſt before; but the ſoldier inſtantly advancing, and putting the muzzle of his muſket to the rebel's ear, blew out his brains, while ſeveral of his countrymen, in ſpite of their ſpells and charms, ſhared the ſame fate.

Being now about to enter the town, a rebel captain, wearing a tarniſhed gold-laced hat, and bearing in his hand a torch of flaming ſtraw, ſeeing their ruin inevitable, had the reſolution to ſtay and ſet the town on fire in our preſence, which, by the dryneſs of the houſes, inſtantly produced a general conflagration, when the firing from the woods began gradually to ceaſe. This bold and maſterly manœuvre not only prevented that carnage to which the common ſoldiers in the heat of victory are but too prone, but alſo afforded the enemy an opportunity of retreating with their wives and children, and carrying off their moſt uſeful effects; whilſt our purſuit, and ſeizing the ſpoil, were at once fruſtrated both by the aſcending flames, and the unfathomable marſh, which we ſoon diſcovered on all ſides to ſurround us, as in the *Maccabees*:

> "Behold the *battle* is before us, and behind us, and the *water*
> "*of Jordan* on this ſide, and that ſide, and the *marſh*, and *foreſt*,
> "ſo that there is no place for us to turn aſide."

I muſt indeed confeſs that within this laſt hour the continued noiſe of the firing, ſhouting, ſwearing, and hallooing of black and white men mixed together; the groans of the wounded and the dying, all weltering in

in blood and in duſt; the ſhrill ſound of the negro horns from every quarter, and the crackling of the burning village; to which if we add the clouds of ſmoke that every where ſurrounded us, the aſcending flames, &c. &c. formed, on the whole, ſuch an uncommon ſcene as I cannot deſcribe, and would perhaps not have been unworthy of the pencil of *Hogarth*: this ſcene I have, however, faintly endeavoured to repreſent in the *frontiſpiece*—where *I may be ſeen*, after the heat of the action, fatigued, and dejectedly looking on the body of an unfortunate *rebel negro*, who, with his muſket in his hand, lies proſtrate at my feet.

In ſhort, having waſhed off the duſt, ſweat, and blood, and having refreſhed ourſelves with a dram and a bit of bread till the flames ſubſided, we next went to inſpect the ſmoking ruins; and found the above town to have conſiſted of about one hundred houſes or huts, ſome of which were two ſtories high. Among the glowing aſhes we picked up ſeveral trifles that had eſcaped the flames, ſuch as ſilver ſpoons and forks, which we ſuppoſed, by the marks BW. to have been pillaged from the *Brunſwick* eſtate in Rio Cottica. We found alſo ſome knives, broken china and earthen pots; amongſt the latter one filled with rice and palm-tree worms fell to my ſhare: as this wanted no fire to dreſs the contents, and as my appetite was very keen, I emptied it in a few minutes, and made a very hearty meal. Some were afraid this meſs had been left behind with a view to poiſon us; but this ſuſpi-

cion,

CHAP. XX.

çion, proved however, fortunately for me, to be without foundation.

The silver plate I alſo purchaſed from the men that picked it up, determined to carry it off as a trophy, and I have uſed it ever ſince. Here we likewiſe found three ſkulls fixed upon ſtakes, the mournful relics of ſome of our own brave people, who had been formerly killed; but what ſurprized us moſt, were the heads of two young negroes, which ſeemed as if freſh cut off, theſe we ſince learned had been executed during the night of the 17th, when we heard the hallooing and the firing, for ſpeaking in *our* favour.

Having buried all theſe remains promiſcuouſly in one pit, we returned to fling our hammocks, under thoſe beautiful and lofty trees which I have already mentioned; but here I am ſorry to add, we found the rangers ſhockingly employed, in playing at bowls with thoſe very heads they had juſt chopped off from their enemies; who, deaf to all remonſtrance,

> "Reſiſtleſs drove the *batter'd ſkulls* before,
> "And daſh'd and mangled all the brains with gore."

They related that upon reconnoitring the ſkirts of the ſurrounding foreſt, they had found quantities of human blood in different places, which had flowed from the dead and wounded bodies the rebels had carried away during the action.

To reprimand them for this inhuman diverſion would have

have been uſeleſs, as they aſſured us it was "*Condre*, "*faſſee*," the cuſtom of their country; and concluded the horrid ſport by kicking and mangling the heads, cutting off the lips, cheeks, ears, and noſes; they even took out the jaw-bones, which they ſmoke-dried, together with the right hands, to carry home, as trophies of their victory, to their wives and relations. That this barbarous cuſtom prevails amongſt ſavages is a well-known fact, which originates from a motive of inſatiable revenge. And though Colonel Fourgeoud might have prevented their inhumanity by his authority, in my opinion he wiſely declined it; obſerving, that as he could not do it by perſuaſion, to do it by power, might break their native ſpirit, and produce no other effect than alienating them from the ſervice, ſo neceſſary were they to us, though ſo ſavagely revengeful, and ſo bloody.

About three o'clock, whilſt we were reſting from our fatigue, we were once more ſurpriſed by an attack from a party of the enemy; but after exchanging a few ſhots they were repulſed. This unexpected viſit, however, put us more upon our guard during the night, ſo that no fires were allowed to be lighted, and double ſentinels were placed around the camp. Thus ſituated, being overcome by exceſſive toil and heat, I after ſun-ſet leaped into my hammock, and ſoon fell faſt aſleep; but in leſs than two hours my faithful black boy Quaco rouſed me, in the midſt of pitch darkneſs, crying,

"*Maſſera*,

CHAP. XX.

"*Maſſera, maſſera! booſee negro, booſee negro!*"—"Maſ-"ter, maſter! the enemy, the enemy!" Hearing, at the ſame moment, a briſk firing, with the balls whiſtling through the branches, I fully concluded that the rebels were in the very midſt of our camp. Surpriſed, and not perfectly awake, I ſuddenly ſtarted up with my fuſee cocked; and (without knowing where I ran) firſt threw down Quaco, and next fell down myſelf, over two or three bodies that lay upon the ground, and which I imagined to be killed. When one of them, "d—ning "me for a ſon of a b—ch, told me, if I moved I was a "dead man; Colonel Fourgeoud having iſſued orders "for the troops to lie flat on their bellies all the night, and "not to fire, as moſt of their ammunition had been ex-"pended the preceding day." I took his advice, and ſoon diſcovered him by his voice to be one of our own grenadiers, named *Thomſon*. In this ſituation we lay proſtrate on our arms until ſun-riſe, during which time a moſt abuſive dialogue was carried on indeed between the *rebels* and the *rangers*, each party curſing and menacing the other at a very terrible rate; the former "reproaching the "rangers as poltroons and traitors to their countrymen, "and challenging them next day to ſingle combat; ſwear-"ing they only wiſhed to lave their hands in the blood of "ſuch ſcoundrels, who had been the principal agents in "deſtroying their flouriſhing ſettlement." The rangers "d—n'd the rebels for a parcel of pitiful ſkulking raſ-"cals, whom they would fight one to two in the open "field,

"field, if they dared but to ſhew their *ugly* faces;" ſwear-"ing they had only deſerted their maſters becauſe they "were too lazy to work." After this they inſulted each other by a kind of war-whoop, ſung victorious ſongs on both ſides, and ſounded their horns as ſignals of defiance; when the firing commenced once more from the rebel negroes, and continued during the night, accompanied by their martial voices, at intermiſſions reſounding through the woods, which echo ſeemed to anſwer with redoubled force.

At length poor Fourgeoud took a part in the converſation, myſelf and Serjeant Fowler acting as his interpreters, by hallooing, which created more mirth than I had been witneſs to for ſome time: he promiſed them life, liberty, victuals, drink, and all they wanted. They replied, with a loud laugh, that they wanted nothing from him; characteriſed him as a half-ſtarved Frenchman, who had run away from his own country; and aſſured him that if he would venture to pay *them* a viſit, he ſhould return unhurt, and not with an empty belly. They told us, that we were to be pitied more than they; that we were *white ſlaves*, hired to be ſhot at and ſtarved for four-pence a day; that they ſcorned to expend much more of their powder upon ſuch ſcarecrows; but ſhould the planters or overſeers dare to enter the woods, not a ſoul of them ſhould ever return, any more than the perfidious rangers, ſome of whom might depend upon being maſſacred that

CHAP. XX.

day, or the next; and concluded by declaring that *Bonny* ſhould ſoon be the governor of the colony.

After this they tinkled their bill-hooks, fired a volley, and gave three cheers; which being anſwered by the rangers, the clamour ended, and the rebels diſperſed with the riſing ſun.

Our fatigue was great; yet, notwithſtanding the length of the conteſt, our loſs by the enemies fire was very inconſiderable, for which I promiſed to account; and this myſtery was now explained, when the ſurgeons, dreſſing the wounded, extracted very few leaden bullets, but many pebbles, coat-buttons, and pieces of ſilver coin, which could do us little miſchief, by penetrating ſcarcely more than ſkin deep. We alſo obſerved, that ſeveral of the poor rebel negroes who were ſhot, had only the ſhards of Spa-water cans, inſtead of flints, which could ſeldom do execution; and it was certainly owing to theſe circumſtances that we came off ſo well, as I have mentioned before; yet we were nevertheleſs not without a number of very dangerous ſcars and contuſions.

Inconceivable are the many expedients which theſe people employ in the woods, where in a ſtate of tranquillity they ſeemed, as they boaſted, to want for nothing, being plump and fat, at leaſt ſuch as we had an opportunity of obſerving. It ſhould be noticed, that *game* and *fiſh* they catch in great abundance, by artificial traps and ſprings, and preſerve them by barbacuing; while their

fields are even overſtocked with rice, caſſava, yams, plantains, &c. They make *ſalt* from the palm-tree aſhes, as the Gentoos do in the Eaſt Indies, or frequently ſupply the want of it with red pepper.

We here found concealed near the trunk of an old tree a caſe-bottle filled with excellent butter, which the rangers told me they made by melting and clarifying the fat of the palm-tree worms: this fully anſwers all the purpoſes of European butter, and I found it in fact even more delicious to my taſte. The *piſtachio* or *pinda* nuts they alſo convert into butter, by their oily ſubſtance, and frequently uſe them in their broths. The palm-tree wine they have always in plenty; they procure it by making deep inciſions of a foot ſquare in the fallen trunk, where the juice being collected, it ſoon ferments by the heat of the ſun; it is not only a cool and agreeable beverage, but ſufficiently ſtrong to intoxicate. The manicole or pine-tree affords them materials for building; they fabricate pots from clay found near their dwellings; the gourd or callebaſſe tree procures them cups; the ſilk graſs plant and maurecee-tree ſupplies materials for their hammocks, and even a kind of cap grows naturally upon the palm-trees, as well as brooms; the various kinds of nebee ſupply the want of ropes; fuel they have for cutting; and a wood called *bee-bee* ſerves for tinder, by rubbing two pieces on each other; it is alſo elaſtic, and makes excellent corks; candles they can make, having plenty of fat and oil; and the wild bees afford them wax, as well as excellent honey.

CHAP. XX.

'Cloaths they ſcorn to wear, preferring to go naked in a climate where the warmth of the weather renders every kind of covering an uſeleſs incumbrance.

They might breed hogs and poultry, and keep dogs for hunting and watching them, but this they decline, from the apprehenſion of being diſcovered by their noiſe, as even the crowing of a cock may be heard in the foreſt at a conſiderable diſtance.——I ſhall now once more proceed.

The rebels of this ſettlement being apparently ſubdued and diſperſed, Colonel Fourgeoud made it his next buſineſs to deſtroy the ſurrounding harveſt; and I received orders to begin the devaſtation, with eighty marines and twenty rangers. Thus I cut down all the rice that was growing plentifully in the two above-mentioned fields; this being done, I diſcovered a third field ſouth of the firſt, which I alſo demoliſhed, and made my report to Fourgeoud, with which he appeared highly ſatisfied. In the afternoon Captain *Hamel* was detached, with fifty marines and thirty rangers, to reconnoitre behind the village, and to diſcover, if poſſible, how the rebels could paſs to and fro through an unfathomable marſh, whilſt we were unable to purſue them. This officer at length perceived a kind of floating bridge amongſt the reeds, made of maurecee-trees, but ſo conſtructed, that only one man abreaſt could paſs it. On this were ſeated aſtride a few rebels to defend the communication, who inſtantly fired upon the party, but were ſoon repulſed by the rangers, who ſhot one of them dead, but he was carried away by his companions.

On

On the morning of the 22d, our commander ordered a detachment to croſs the bridge and go on diſcovery, at all hazards. Of this party I led the van. We now took the paſs without oppoſition; and having all marched, or rather ſcrambled over this defile of floating trees, we found ourſelves in a large oblong field of caſſava and yams, in which were about thirty houſes, *now* deſerted, being the remains of the old ſettlement called *Coſaay*. In this field we ſeparated into three diviſions, the better to reconnoitre, one marching north, one north-weſt, and the third weſt. And here, to our aſtoniſhment, we diſcovered that the reaſon of the rebels ſhouting, ſinging, and firing, on the night of the 20th, was not only to cover the retreat of their friends, by cutting off the paſs, but by their unremitting noiſe to prevent us from diſcovering that they were employed, men, women, and children, in preparing warimboes or hampers filled with the fineſt rice, yams, and caſſava, for ſubſiſtence during their eſcape, of which they had only left the chaff and refuſe for our contemplation.

This was certainly ſuch a maſterly trait of generalſhip in a ſavage people, whom we affected to deſpiſe, as would have done honour to any European commander, and has perhaps been ſeldom equalled by more civilized nations.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Spirited Conduct of the Rangers and Rebels—A Skirmish—Scene of Brotherly Affection—The Troops return to Barbacoeba—Plan of the Field of Action—A Slave killed by the Oroocookoo Snake.

CHAP. XXI.

COLONEL Fourgeoud, on finding himſelf thus foiled by a naked negro, was unable any longer to reſtrain his reſentment, and ſwore aloud he would purſue Bonny to the world's end. His ammunition and proviſions were however expended, and if they had not, it would have been in vain now to think of overtaking the enemy.—To the ſurprize of moſt perſons, our hero however perſevered in this impracticable project, and diſpatched Captain *Bolts*, with one hundred men and thirty rangers, beſides a number of ſlaves, to tranſport a quantity of ſhot, and a week's proviſions from Barbacoeba, and at the ſame time iſſued orders for the troops to ſubſiſt upon half allowance, deſiring the men to ſupply the deficiency by picking rice, peas, and caſſava, and prepare them in the beſt way they could for their ſubſiſtence, and this was alſo my lot, as well as moſt of the officers; while it was no bad ſcene to ſee ten or twenty of us with heavy wooden peſtles, like ſo many apothecaries, beating the rice in a ſpecies of mortars, cut all along in the hard trunk of a levelled

velled *purper-heart-tree* by the rebel negroes (being the only contrivance uſed by them to ſeparate the rice from the huſk) this was however for us a moſt laborious buſineſs, the ſweat running down our bodies as if we had been bathing, while water was at this time the only beverage in the camp.

Among other vegetables we had the good fortune to find here great quantities of *wild purſlane*, which only differs from the common, by growing nearer the ground, the leaves being leſs, and more of a blackiſh green; this vegetable grows wild in the woods of Guiana, and may be either eaten as a ſallad, or ſtewed, without reſerve, being not only a cooling and agreeable food, but reckoned an excellent antidote againſt the ſcurvy.

Here were alſo great quantities of *gourd* or *calebaſſe* trees, which are very uſeful to the natives of the country. This tree grows to the height of a common apple-tree, with large thick pointed leaves: the gourds it produces are of different forms and dimenſions, ſome being oval, ſome conical, and ſome round, growing often to the ſize of ten or twelve inches in diameter; the ſhell is hard and very ſmooth, covered over with a ſhining ſkin or epidermis, which becomes brown when the gourd is dry and fit for uſe: the heart or pulp is a pithy ſubſtance, which is eaſily extricated by the help of a crooked knife. The uſes are various to which theſe gourds are applied, they furniſh bottles, powder-flaſks, cups, baſons, and diſhes: I ſeldom travelled without one, which ſerved me

as

CHAP. XXI.

as a bason, plate, &c. in the foreſt. The negroes generally adorn them by carving on the outer ſkin many fantaſtical figures, and filling up the vacancies with chalk-duſt, which ſometimes has a very pretty effect.

The rangers having been out to reconnoitre, returned on the afternoon of the 23d, and reported that they had diſcovered and deſtroyed another field of rice to the N. E. This pleaſed Colonel Fourgeoud very well; but when in the duſk of the evening I obſerved to him, that I ſaw ſeveral armed negroes advancing at a diſtance, he turned pale, exclaiming, "*Nous ſommes perdus!*" and ordered the whole camp immediately under arms. In a few ſeconds theſe negroes were near enough to be diſcerned, and we now ſaw that ſeveral of them were carried upon poles, in hammocks. Fourgeoud then ſaid, "We ſtill are "ruined, though not the enemy: 'tis Captain Bolts, beaten "back, with all his party;" and this proved literally to be the fact, when that unfortunate officer (having delivered the wounded to the ſurgeons) made his report, that having entered the fatal ſwamp where Captain Meyland had been defeated, he was attacked by the enemy from the oppoſite ſhore, who, without hurting a ſingle European, had made a dreadful havock amongſt his *rangers*; that Captain *Valentine*, a brave young fellow, belonging to that corps, whilſt ſounding his horn to animate his countrymen, had it ſhot away, with his pouch alſo, and was himſelf moſt deſperately wounded in *five* different parts of the body. In this ſituation he was met

by

by his brother, named *Captain Avantage*, who, upon seeing his mortal condition, a scene of such real fraternal affection ensued as is seldom to be observed in a civilized country:—kneeling at his side, and bending over the mangled Valentine, he sucked the blood and gore from his shattered breast and sides; then cherished him with the manly promise to revenge his death upon his foes, and the hopes that when he himself was killed he should meet him again in *a better place*. CHAP. XXI.

Colonel Fourgeoud now found that the rebels had kept their promise of massacring the rangers; while Captain Bolts reported that some had fired upon his party from the tops of the palm-trees, and then sliding down with surprising agility, disappeared, whilst the rangers were foaming for revenge on their active adversaries, and could hardly be restrained from an immediate pursuit through the verdure.

Our mighty leader now found his absurd scheme of pursuing the enemy compleatly frustrated, and himself in danger of total destruction; being cut off from every supply, and having neither ammunition nor provisions left in his camp, with very few men, except the sick and wounded, to defend it. Thus he at last began most seriously to consider how to secure a safe retreat; to which he was urged likewise by the general and incessant murmurings of the troops, who were not only almost

 starved,

CHAP. XXI.

ftarved, but indeed dreadfully haraffed by daily fatigues and nightly watchings:

"They wandered in the wildernefs in a folitary way, they found
"no city to dwell in.
"Hungry and thirfty, their foul fainted within them."

On the 24th, a detachment of one hundred and forty men, commanded by two field officers, were ftill ordered to deftroy the fields, and the old fettlement called *Cofaay*; of this party I had the honour again to be one. We foon performed the fervice we were fent upon, and alfo picked up, out of the marfh, feveral utenfils, fuch as tea-kettles, iron pots and pans, &c. that the rebels had formerly pillaged from the eftates, and had thrown into the water to conceal them from us, with an intention, no doubt, of returning to fifh them up, as foon as we were gone from Gado-Saby.

Upon the return of the detachment in the afternoon, we immediately decamped, and began to retreat for Barbacoeba. Here I muft remark in Colonel Fourgeoud an inftance of *bad policy*, at leaft, though many have not hefitated to beftow upon it a harfher epithet. This evening, upon our return, when we entered the ominous fwamp, he fuddenly caught up one of the empty bread-boxes, and having ftuffed a hammock into it, he carried it before him as a fhield, crying aloud to his men, "*Sauve qui peut!*" At this moment a Walloon named *Mattow* ftepped up to him, and faid, "*Mon Colonel*, but "few

"few can, and I hope fewer ftill will, follow your example. Drop your fhield, and do not intimidate your "foldiers: one brave man creates others, then follow "thy Mattow, and fear for nothing." Upon which he inftantly threw open his bofom, and charging his bayonet was the firft that mounted the oppofite beach: this intrepidity infpired the reft, and they paffed the marfhy fwamp without oppofition; for which act of heroifm this private marine was fince made a ferjeant. I fhould think myfelf deficient if I did not obferve, that the Walloons in general behaved with great fpirit, and were in every refpect excellent foldiers. This evening we encamped upon the fame ground where we had paffed the night before the engagement, with exceffive bad weather and very heavy rain.

Early on the morning of the 25th, we again marched, and proceeded on our return, having now a beaten path before us. It will fuffice to fay, that we reached our place of general rendezvous, Barbacoeba, on the afternoon of the following day, but in a moft fhocking condition; the whole of the detachment being moftly fpent and wore out with fatigue, fome nearly ftarved, others mortally wounded; whilft all the flaves were employed in carrying the fick and lame in their hammocks, on long poles, though thefe poor wretches were fcarcely able to fupport themfelves.—Such was the concluding fcene of the taking of Gado-Saby. However, if during this expedition we neither captured any of the rebels,

CHAP. XXI.

nor gained booty, we neverthelefs rendered the colony a very effential fervice, by rooting out this concealed neft of enemies, who being thus difcovered and driven away from their capital fettlements, never think (as I have already obferved) of returning to live near the fame fpot. I might, indeed, pronounce our victory *almoft* decifive; I fay almoft, for if we except the demolifhing a few plantations for immediate fubfiftence, and from a fpirit of revenge, the rebels were, by being driven from this fettlement, fo difconcerted and panic-ftruck, that from the prefent period their depredations were certainly lefs, as they foon afterwards retired to an inacceffible depth in the foreft, where they neither could do any material injury, nor be joined by negro deferters.

To fhew the mafterly manœuvres of our fable foes to more advantage, I here prefent the reader with a plan of this extraordinary fettlement, together with our different ftages, after leaving our encampment on the borders of the Cottica River, *viz.*

N°ˢ 1, 2, and 3, are fuppofed to be the general rendezvous at Barbacoeba, and the two fucceeding nights encampment.

N° 4. The fpot where we heard the firing and fhouting of the rebels, on the night of the 17th.

N° 5. The latitude where the troops were joined by the black corps or rangers.

N° 6. The night's encampment previous to the engagement.

N° 7.

Nº 7. The beach on the oppoſite ſide of the marſh, where Captain Meyland with his troops had been defeated.

Nº 8. The advanced poſt of the rebels, whence the firſt ſhot was fired at the troops.

Nº 9. The field with rice and Indian corn, entered without oppoſition.

Nº 10. The paſs or defile in which the firing commenced.

Nº 11. The beautiful rice-field in which the action continued above forty minutes.

Nº 12. The town of GADO-SABY in flames at a diſtance.

Nº 13. The ſpot whence the rebels fired on the camp, and held the converſation, on the night of the 20th.

Nº 14. The ground of the old ſettlement Coſaay, with the floating bridge that covered the retreat of the rebels.

Nº 15. The fields with caſſava, yams, and plantains, that were at different times deſtroyed.

Nº 16. The field of rice diſcovered and demoliſhed by Captain Stedman on the 21ſt.

Nº 17. A field demoliſhed by the rangers on the 23d.

Nº 18. The ſwamp or marſh which ſurrounded the ſettlement.

Nº 19. The quag-mire, or biree-biree, adjoining it.

Nº 20. The foreſt.

Having formerly deſcribed the manner in which we erected our huts, I ſhall here alſo add a ſmall plan of the

CHAP. XXI.

the mode of arranging them during our encampment in the woods of Guiana, which camps were generally of a triangular form, as being moſt ſecure in caſe of a ſurprize, and the eaſieſt to defend our proviſions and ammunition; but the ſituation of the ground would not always permit this, and then we encamped in any form, ſquare, oblong, or circular, &c.—In the annexed plan,

N° 1. Is the hut or ſhed of Colonel Fourgeoud, or the commanding officer, in the centre, with a ſentinel.

N° 2. The huts of all the other officers, in a ſmall triangle, ſurrounding that of the commander in chief.

N° 3. The angles of the outer triangle formed by the huts of the privates in three diviſions, *viz.* the main body, the van, and the rear guards, with ſentinels at proper diſtances, to cover the front of each.

N° 4. Powder-cheſts, proviſions, and medicines, with a ſentinel.

N° 5. The fires in the rear of each diviſion to dreſs the victuals, and round which the negro ſlaves are lodged upon the ground.

N° 6. A coppice of manicole-trees to erect the huts or ſheds.

N° 7. A rivulet or creek to provide the troops with freſh water. And,

N° 8. The ſurrounding foreſt.

I muſt now return once more to my narrative, and obſerve, that Barbacoeba, inſtead of being in a ſtate of ſending proviſions to Gado-Saby, as our chief had ex-

 pected,

Plan of the Principal FIELD of ACTION between the Rivers COTTICA and MARAWINA; with a Sketch of the manner of Encamping in the WOODS of SURINAM.

London, Published Decr 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

SARASWATI MAHAL

pected, it could ſcarcely afford daily ſubſiſtence to his emaciated troops on their arrival; who having for many days lived on rice, yams, peas, and Indian corn, were now moſt violently attacked by the flux; for although that kind of nouriſhment will keep the Indians and negroes ſtrong as horſes, the Europeans cannot long ſubſiſt without animal food; which was at this time ſo very ſcarce, that even the Jew ſoldiers of the Society troops devoured ſalt pork as faſt as they could catch it.

I nevertheleſs continued among the few that ſtill were healthy; which was almoſt a miracle, as I had fared very hard indeed for want of my private ſtores, and which, as was mentioned, I had left at the neighbouring eſtate *Mocha*: however, expecting leave now to bring them in perſon from that plantation, I was in good ſpirits alſo. But here I was diſappointed, by Colonel Fourgeoud's declaring he could not ſpare me one moment, while I was able to ſtand upon my feet. I therefore waited patiently for an opportunity of ſending for them; in the mean time ſharing with my black boy the ſcanty allowance of a private ſoldier, with the caſual addition of ſome mountain-cabbage, or palm-tree worms, and perhaps a few warrappa fiſh.

As for the miſerable ſlaves, they were ſo ſtarved, that having killed a *Coata* monkey, they broiled it, with ſkin, hair, inteſtines and all, then tore it to pieces with their teeth, and devoured it like ſo many cannibals, before it was even half dreſſed. Of this animal they offered me

a limb;

CHAP. XXI.

a limb; but, hungry as I was, my ſtomach could not reliſh this kind of veniſon.

A good conſtitution, ſterling health and ſpirits, now ſupported me, or I muſt have ſunk under the load of miſery and hardſhips, which were at this time become ſo intolerable, that the rangers again forſook the camp; and Mr. Vinſack, their conductor, as brave and active a man as ever entered the wood, threw up his commiſſion, as Mr. Mongol had done before, during Colonel Fourgeoud's firſt campaign at the Wana.

In the beginning of September, the bloody flux raged in the camp to ſuch a degree, that the colonel ſaw himſelf obliged to ſend off all the ſick officers and privates, without exception, not to Paramaribo for recovery in the grand hoſpital that is there, but to linger and die on the banks of the rivers, where they relieved others to be encamped, and undergo a ſimilar wretchedneſs; the ſick of his own regiment being diſpatched to Magdenburg in the Tempatee Creek, and thoſe of the Society troops to Vreedenberg in Cottica.

Colonel Fourgeoud's inhumanity to the officers was now actually become ſuch, that he would not even permit thoſe who were paſt recovery a marine to attend them, whatever price they offered; ſome of whom I have ſeen expanded between two trees, while the very filth, for want of aſſiſtance, was dropping through their hammocks. Of this number was Enſign *Strows*, who, in this dreadful ſituation, was ordered to be tranſported in an open boat

to Devil's Harwar, where he died. At length Colonel Fourgeoud himſelf was ſeized with this dreadful malady, and his beloved *ptiſan* proved to be of no more avail; yet he ſoon recovered, by the plentiful uſe of claret and ſpices, which *he* ſeldom wanted, and which his colleague Seyburg alſo employed as a preſervative of his health, though by ſwallowing too copious doſes he frequently loſt the uſe of his reaſon. In ſuch a ſituation, and in ſuch a deſpicable encampment, our commander in chief had the vanity to expect a deputation from the court at Paramaribo, with congratulations on his victory: in conſequence of which he had built an elegant ſhed, and ſent for ſheep and hogs to entertain them—but the expected deputies never yet arrived.

On the 5th, therefore, the hogs and ſheep were ſlaughtered, and, for the *firſt time* in his life, he ordered one pound *per* man, bones and all, to be diſtributed among the poor emaciated ſoldiers: indeed the number able to partake of this bounty was at preſent very ſmall.

On the following day a reinforcement of one hundred men arrived from Magdenburg, in Comewina; and from the Society poſt Vreedenburg, in Cottica, nearly as many. Theſe confirmed the death of Enſign Strows, beſides of a great number of privates, who had aſſiſted at the taking of *Gado-Saby*, and who had expired in the boats during their removal from Barbacoeba.

Intelligence arrived at the ſame time that the defeated rebels had actually croſſed the river Cottica below Patta-

maca,

CHAP. XXI.

maca, intent on immediate miſchief, and that they were marching to the weſtward. In conſequence of this information, a captain and fifty men were immediately detached, by water, to reconnoitre the banks near the Pinenburg Creek. This party returned upon the 8th, and confirmed the intelligence. Our indefatigable chief now again determined to purſue them; but the ſlaves who were to carry the ammunition and proviſions had been ſent home to their maſters, nothing but ſkin and bones, to be exchanged for others, not yet arrived, and to be ſtarved in their turn; I ſhall therefore relate what happened the two following days, until the arrival of theſe unfortunate *beaſts* of burden; for ſo they might with propriety be called.

On the 9th were ſold upon credit, and to the higheſt bidder, the effects of the deceaſed Enſign Strows, when the poor ſoldiers, regardleſs of price, and only wiſhing to obtain ſome cloaths and refreſhments to keep (in the vulgar phraſe) ſoul and body together, actually paid at the rate of 700 per cent. and this infamous debt was accordingly ſtated in their accounts. I have ſeen, for inſtance, a private marine pay five ſhillings for a pound of mouldered tobacco, that might be worth ſix-pence, and double the prime value for a pair of old ſtockings or ſhoes. A ſick man paid one guinea for a couple of meagre chickens; and for a broken bottle-caſe to hold his lumber, another paid a ſimilar ſum. Thus were theſe poor dying half-ſtarved wretches deprived of the little property they

had

had earned at the expence of their blood and ſweat, while this miſerable neceſſity might have been eaſily prevented by only ſupplying them with what was their due. A private marine, of the name of *Sem*, at this time, ſwore, in the heat of his reſentment, that he would certainly ſhoot Fourgeoud, whenever he had an opportunity; which being overheard, upon condition of repentance, I bribed the evidence not to inform againſt him, and ſo literally ſaved this poor raſh fellow from dying on the gallows.

Fortunately, all the world did not poſſeſs this chieftain's inſenſibility, for this day the good Mrs. Godefroy once more ſent up a flat-bottomed barge, with a fat ox, oranges, and plantains for the private ſoldiers, which was accordingly diſtributed amongſt them. The ſame evening a ſmall ſupply of proviſions alſo arrived for me, from Joanna, with a few bottles of port wine; and though part was ſtolen, and part was damaged by the way, it made me very happy, and I gave *nothing* to Fourgeoud.

When we ſpeak of proviſions in the woods, we only mean ſugar, tea, coffee, Boſton biſcuit, cheeſe, rum, ham, or a keg of ſauſages, ſince little elſe can be carried through the foreſt by a ſingle ſlave, and we were *now* allowed no more. Shirts, ſhoes, and ſtockings were alſo uſually accounted among the neceſſaries, but the laſt two articles I did not uſe, being accuſtomed to walk barefooted, which I had now practiſed for more than two years, and with great advantage to my limbs, when I

CHAP. XXI.

compared them with the diseased and ulcerated shanks of my ghastly-looking companions.

On the 12th, the fresh supply of slaves being arrived, the necessary preparations were made to pursue the rebels the next day, directing our first course towards the spot formerly called Jerusalem, mentioned in 1773, when I commanded the fatal expedition in Upper Cottica; and on the 13th, the baggage and provisions being sent before us by water to Jerusalem, escorted by the sick officers and privates, we at last decamped to follow them, and bidding a final farewell to Barbacoeba, re-entered the woods, marching S. and S. E. the whole day, then passed the night on the opposite bank of the Cassiporee Creek, where we encamped.

Nothing could be more diabolically cruel, than the persecution of the new slaves during this march; not only overloaded and starved, but beat like mules or asses by every ill-tempered individual—for instance, I saw Fourgeoud's black favourite, Gousary, knock down a poor negro slave for *not* taking up his load—and the chief himself knock him down for taking it up *too soon*; when the wretch, not knowing what to do, exclaimed, in hopes of pity, "*O massera Jesus Christus!*" and was actually knocked down a third time by an enthusiast, for daring to utter a name with which he was so little acquainted.

During the last day's march, a large drove of *Warre* hogs or wild boars broke through our line; several of them were cut down by our sabres, and stabbed with the

the bayonets, the men having orders from the commander in chief not to fire at any game whatever. The animals that were killed were cut in pieces, and diſtributed among the troops, which proved, though ſmall, a very ſeaſonable dainty. It is certainly very remarkable, that if the firſt wild boar or leader paſſes through any danger, all the others ſtupidly follow, in hopes of a ſimilar eſcape, which on the contrary, as I have ſaid, frequently proves the cauſe of their deſtruction.

On the 14th we marched S. W. till about noon, and arrived at Jeruſalem, which the van had reached about an hour before us, all thoroughly ſoaked with mud and heavy rains, and ſeveral men unhappily with ruptures in the groin, by falling over the roots of trees, large ſtones, &c. Here juſt arrived, we found again, to my aſtoniſhment, the identical Mr. *Vinſack*, with one hundred freſh rangers: he had heard, it ſeems, of the rebels paſſing Upper Cottica, and had been prevailed upon to reſume his command by the governor; thus he now once more offered his ſervice to Colonel Fourgeoud, who was very happy indeed to accept it.

Here, our camp being moſtly overgrown with long coarſe graſs, one of the ſlaves was unfortunately bitten in the foot by a ſmall ſerpent, called in Surinam the * *Oroocookoo* ſnake, from its colour, which reſembles an owl.

* This, I apprehend, is the ſnake which Dr. Bancroft calls the ſmall Labora, and which he mentions as having killed a negro in leſs than five minutes when he was at Demerara.

In

CHAP. XXI.

In leſs than a minute the man's leg began to ſwell, when he was ſeized with excruciating pains, and ſoon fell into convulſions. One of his companions, having killed the ſnake, made the patient drink its gall, mixed with half a glaſs of ſpirits, which I gave him. He ſeemed now (perhaps from imagination) to bear his misfortune better; but the fits ſoon returned with increaſing violence, and he was inſtantly ſent to his maſter's plantation, where he expired. That the gall of adders, *externally* applied, is efficacious, I have often heard. In the Grand Magazine for April 1758, may be ſeen a letter, ſigned J. H. and dated 24th March, which treats ſyſtematically of the application of gall. But theſe inveſtigations I muſt leave to the learned of the medical profeſſion; and only obſerve, in general, that the ſmaller the ſnake, at leaſt in Guiana, the more fatal the poiſon; as is juſtly and beautifully obſerved by Thomſon:

"—— But ſtill more direful he
"The ſmall, cloſe-lurking miniſter of fate,
"Whoſe high concocted venom through the veins
"A rapid lightning darts, arreſting ſwift
"The vital current."——

In this graſſy wilderneſs one of the rangers alſo killed a ſnake, called the whip-ſnake, from its reſemblance to that inſtrument; it was about five feet long, and not very much thicker than a ſwan's quill; the belly white, and the back a lead colour: concerning its bite, I can ſay nothing.

CHAP. XXI.

nothing. I was informed by the negroes, but I cannot ſpeak from my own obſervation, that it has the power of giving a very ſevere ſtroke with its tail, like the laſh of a whip, which it ſo much reſembles.

I muſt alſo notice an amphibious animal which ſome of the negroes killed this evening, called by them the *Cabiai*; it is a ſpecies of water hog, and about the ordinary ſize of the land animal which goes under that name; it is covered with grey briſtles, and armed with a number of very ſtrong teeth; it has no tail; on each foot it has three toes, webbed like thoſe of a duck. This animal, it is ſaid, goes aſhore only during the night, where it feeds on young graſs, and other vegetables. I have been told it is good food, but never taſted it myſelf.

On the 16th, having reſted one day at this place, Colonel Fourgeoud detached two ſtrong parties to reconnoitre, *viz.* Lieutenant Colonel de Borgnes, with 100 men, was ſent to the Wana Creek in Upper Cormoetibo; and Colonel Seyburg, with an equal number, was ordered to the Creek Pinenburg, in Upper Cottica. The latter returned about midnight with two canoes, which he had found hauled aſhore, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, a little below the mouth of the Claas Creek. This convinced us that the rebels were gone weſtward to plunder, and had brought their empty canoes down the Claas Creek, from the rice country, in order to ſend them back loaded with booty from the eſtates they intended to

2 pillage.

CHAP. XXI.

pillage. In consequence, therefore, of this information, the proper preparations were immediately made to pursue them with alacrity. Never did the old warrior display more vigour than on this occasion, swearing aloud that he now would be revenged of them all, *coute qui coute*.

> "Though they dig into hell, thence shall mine hand take "them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring "them down."

But how far his generalship on this occasion proved to be a match for that of *Bonny*, I must beg leave to reserve for the succeeding chapter.

CHAP. XXII.

Alarm in the Pirica River—A Detachment marches to its Relief—Ambuſcade—Wonderful Effect from the Biting of a Bat—Scene in a Quagmire—Sketch of the Inquiſition and Return of the Troops to Cormoetibo Creek.

CHAP. XXII.

ON the morning of the 19th of September 1775, juſt before ſun-riſe, Colonel Seyburg marched with one hundred marines and forty rangers, who did me the honour to fix upon me as one of the party, and was upon the whole ſo polite, and his behaviour ſo contrary to what it had lately been, that I knew not at all in what manner to account for it.

Having croſſed the Cormoetibo Creek, we kept courſe S. W. and by S. till we approached the river Cottica, where we encamped, having met with nothing on our firſt day's march worth deſcribing, except a ſpecies of *ants*, which were no leſs than one inch in length, and perfectly black. Theſe inſects pillage a tree of all its leaves in a ſhort time, which they cut in ſmall pieces the ſize of a ſix-pence, and carry under-ground. It was indeed entertaining to ſee a whole army of theſe creatures crawling perpetually the ſame way, each with his green-leaf in a perpendicular direction. So general is the propenſity to the marvellous, that ſome have imagined that

CHAP. XXII.

this devaſtation was to feed a blind ſerpent under ground: but the truth is, that it ſerves for nouriſhment to their young brood, who cannot help themſelves, and are ſometimes lodged to the depth of eight feet in the earth. Madam Merian ſays, they form themſelves in chains from one branch to another, while all the others paſs over theſe temporary bridges; and that once a year theſe formidable armies travel from houſe to houſe, killing all the vermin, &c. that comes in their way; neither of which facts ever came within the limits of my obſervation: but that they can bite confoundedly I have found by experience, though their attack is not nearly ſo painful as the bite of that diminutive inſect the fire-ant already deſcribed.

The following day we proceeded along the banks of the river Cottica, till we came near the Claas Creek, (where I formerly ſwam acroſs with my ſabre in my teeth) and early flung our hammocks; from whence I was detached, with a few rangers, to lay in ambuſcade in the mouth of the creek till it was dark. Here, however, I diſcovered nothing, except that the rangers were poſſeſſed of the ſame ſuperſtition as the rebels, with regard to their amulets or *obias* making them invulnerable. They told me that the latter mentioned procured them from their prieſt, and that they themſelves bought theirs from *Graman Qwacy*, a celebrated and cunning old negro, whom I ſhall in a proper place circumſtantially deſcribe.—When I aſked them, " How came any of you, or of your invul-

" nerable

"nerable adverſaries, to be ſhot?" I was anſwered, "Be-"cauſe, like you, Maſſera, they had no faith in the amu-"let or *obia*." This piece of policy in Mr. Qwacy, however, had the effect of making all his free countrymen ſo undauntedly brave, that I muſt confeſs their valour had often ſurprized me. However, this impoſition, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter, beſides reſpect and veneration, procured this dealer in magic conſiderable both eaſe and wealth, which for a black man in Surinam was indeed not very common.

In the mouth of this creek I again ſaw a quantity of nuts floating on the ſurface of the water, ſuch as I have before mentioned, when I was informed that they were the real *acajow* or *caſhew* nut's, which I have partly deſcribed: to which I ſhall now add, that they grow on the edge of a pulpy ſubſtance like a very large pear, which is produced on a middle-ſized tree, with a grey bark and large thick leaves. This excellent nut will bear to be tranſported to any part of the globe, and keep good for a conſiderable time; it is by ſome called the *Anacardium Occidentalis*. From the tree exudes a tranſparent gum, which when diſſolved in water has the conſiſtency of glue.

I alſo taſted here the *eta-tree apple*, of which the negroes ſeemed extremely fond. This tree is of the palm kind, with large leaves, but is leſs in ſize than the maurecee or the mountain cabbage-tree. The fruit or apples are round, and grow in large cluſters reſembling grape-ſhot. In the middle of each apple is a hard nut, in

CHAP. XXII.

which is a kernel, and this is covered near half an inch thick with an orange-coloured pulp, that has a moſt agreeable acid taſte. They are ſeldom uſed till the apples by ripeneſs drop from the tree, when the Indians ſteep them in water, and by maceration convert them into a moſt healthy and agreeable beverage.

An expreſs on the 21ſt arriving by water from Colonel Fourgeoud, informing us that the alarm-guns * had been fired in the river Pirica, we inſtantly croſſed to the oppoſite or weſt ſhore of the river Cottica, where the rangers, with a party of marines, were again ordered to lie in ambuſcade or under cover, in hopes of cutting off the rebels on their retreat, when they returned to croſs the Cottica river with their booty. And this very afternoon a rebel negro was ſeen with a green hamper, who, ſtartled by the ſmell of tobacco (for ſome of the rangers were ſmoking) ſtopt ſhort of his own accord. He was inſtantly fired at by me and one ranger: when the warimbo or hamper dropped to the ground, but he himſelf eſcaped. This bundle we found ſtuffed with a dozen of the fineſt table linen, a cocked gold-laced hat, and a couple of ſuperb India chintz petticoats, &c. the bulk of which I gave to my black companion, reſerving only the chintzes for another friend at Paramaribo.

The free negroes now ruſhing forwards with unre-

* By this is meant minute-guns, which are fired on the eſtates when in danger. Theſe, being regularly anſwered by the neighbouring plantations, ſoon alarm the whole river, and bring aſſiſtance from every quarter.

ſtrained

ſtrained valour, I aſked Colonel Seyburg liberty to follow them; and calling for volunteers, a great number preſented themſelves, which, however, the Colonel thought proper to reduce to *four only*, with whom he ſent me off; and having ſcrambled through thorns and briars woven together like a net or a mat, which tore one of my thighs in a terrible manner, I overtook them at one mile's diſtance from the camp: ſhortly after we diſcovered thirteen freſh huts, where the rebels, we conjectured, had ſlept but a few nights before. In conſequence of this, I now diſpatched a ranger back to Colonel Seyburg to give him intelligence, and aſk permiſſion for the rangers and myſelf to march forward to Pirica without delay, in hopes to meet the enemy: but the anſwer was a peremptory order inſtantly to rejoin him with all hands. We now returned diſguſted back to the camp; my ſable companions in particular extremely diſcontented, and making many *ſhrewd* and *ſarcaſtic* remarks.

Here we found a reinforcement juſt arrived from Jeruſalem, conſiſting of ſixty men, black and white, with poſitive orders for us to break up and march early the *next* morning for *Pirica* River, while this whole night a ſtrong party lay once more in ambuſh.

Accordingly at ſix o'clock, with the riſing-ſun, all was in readineſs, but by ſome unaccountable delay it was very late before we left the camp; during which time we were informed that a canoe was ſeen croſſing the river with one ſingle negro in it, who was no doubt the poor fellow

CHAP. XXII.

fellow at whom the ranger and I had fired the preceding day.

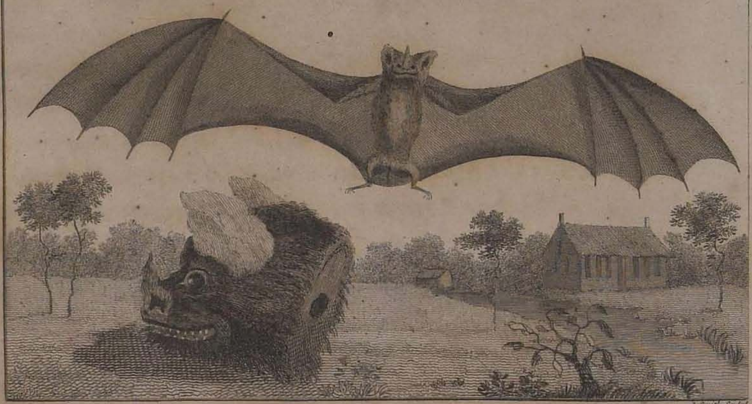
I cannot here forbear relating a ſingular circumſtance reſpecting myſelf, *viz.* that on waking about four o'clock this morning in my hammock, I was extremely alarmed at finding myſelf weltering in congealed blood, and without feeling any pain whatever. Having ſtarted up, and run for the ſurgeon, with a fire-brand in one hand, and all over beſmeared with gore; to which if added my pale face, ſhort hair, and tattered apparel, he might well aſk the queſtion,

> " Be thou a ſpirit of health or goblin damn'd,
> " Bring with thee airs of Heav'n or blaſts from Hell!"

The myſtery however was, that I had been bitten by the *vampire* or *ſpectre* of Guiana, which is alſo called the *flying-dog* of New Spain, and by the Spaniards *perro-volador*; this is no other than a bat of a monſtrous ſize, that ſucks the blood from men and cattle when they are faſt aſleep, even ſometimes till they die; and as the manner in which they proceed is truly wonderful, I ſhall endeavour to give a diſtinct account of it.—Knowing by inſtinct that the perſon they intend to attack is in a ſound ſlumber, they generally alight near the feet, where while the creature continues fanning with his enormous wings, which keeps one cool, he bites a piece out of the tip of the great toe, ſo very ſmall indeed that the head of a pin could ſcarcely be received into the wound, which is conſe-

quently

The Murine Oppossum of Terra-Firma.



A. Smith Sculp.

The Vampire or Spectre of Guiana.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

quently not painful; yet through this orifice he continues to ſuck the blood, until he is obliged to diſgorge. He then begins again, and thus continues ſucking and diſgorging till he is ſcarcely able to fly, and the ſufferer has often been known to ſleep from time into eternity. Cattle they generally bite in the ear, but always in ſuch places where the blood flows ſpontaneouſly, perhaps in an artery—but this is entering rather on the province of the medical faculty. Having applied tobacco-aſhes as the beſt remedy, and waſhed the gore from myſelf and from my hammock, I obſerved ſeveral ſmall heaps of congealed blood all round the place where I had lain, upon the ground: upon examining which, the ſurgeon judged that I had loſt at leaſt twelve or fourteen ounces during the night.

As I have ſince had an opportunity of killing one of theſe bats, I cut off his head, which I here preſent to the reader in its natural ſize, and as a great curioſity, with the whole figure flying above it on a ſmaller ſcale. Having meaſured this creature, I found it to be between the tips of the wings thirty-two inches and a half; it is ſaid that ſome are above three feet, though nothing like in ſize to the bats of Madagaſcar. The colour was a dark brown, nearly black, but lighter under the belly. Its aſpect was truly hideous upon the whole, but particularly the head, which has an erect ſhining membrane above the noſe, terminating in a ſhrivelled point: the ears are long, rounded, and tranſparent: the cutting teeth were four above and ſix below. I ſaw no tail, but a ſkin, in

CHAP. XXII.

the middle of which was a tendon. It had four toes on each wing, with ſharp nails divided like the web-foot of a duck *; and on the extremity of each pinion, where the toes are joined, was a nail or claw to aſſiſt it in crawling, like thoſe of its hinder feet, by which it hangs ſuſpended when aſleep to trees, rocks, roofs, &c.

One of the marines having this morning taken a *murine* or *mouſe oppoſſum*, I ſhall alſo take the opportunity of deſcribing it, and preſent it to the reader as I deſigned it from the life. This animal differs widely in ſome particulars from the deſcription of the Count *de Buffon*:— For inſtance, it was much ſwifter than any of the oppoſſums that he ſpeaks of, and had the whole tail covered over with hair inſtead of ſcales, to the beſt of my remembrance; if, however, my ſight deceived me, I am not the only erroneous writer on the ſubject of this animal. *Linnæus*, *Seba*, and Mr. *Vormeer*, with the laſt of whom I am acquainted, conſider it as common to both the old and new continent; whereas all its ſpecies are moſt aſſuredly inhabitants of America only. Linnæus is alſo miſtaken when he aſſerts, that all bats have four cutting teeth in each jaw.—*(See Buffon, Vol.* V. *page* 282.)

This murine oppoſſum was not more than the ſize of a very large mouſe. It was perfectly black, except the belly, the feet, and the extremity of the tail, which were all buff-coloured, with a buff ſpot above each eye, which

* In Vol. IV. plate the 83d, by the Count de Buffon, a bat is repreſented with only three toes on each wing.

reſembled

resembled thofe of a rat: the ears were long, rounded, and tranfparent: its toes were twenty in number, one on each foot being placed behind, and ferving as a thumb. It had ten or twelve paps, to which the young ones ftick faft, it is faid, as foon as produced, when they are not larger than fmall beetles; but it wanted that pouch which is common to all other oppoffums; in place of this there were two longitudinal folds on the infide of each thigh, equally adapted to preferve its offspring from every injury, which no tortures whatever, not even fire, will make it forfake. I have only to add, that it burrows in the ground, and often climbs trees; but it feeds like a moufe on grain, fruits, and roots. Of the other fpecies I fhall defer the defcription till chance affords me an opportunity.

Madam Merion mentions one kind of them, which, in time of danger, carries its young ones upon its back: but this animal, I confefs, I never heard of in Surinam, and am perfuaded of its non-exiftence.

I have already ftated that, from fome unaccountable delay, it was very late this morning before we left the camp; we, neverthelefs, all ftarted at laft; I having the van-guard with the rangers, and the poor marines loaded each man with *nine days* provifions on his back. In this condition we had not proceeded long, when one of the rangers founding his horn, they fpread, and I among them, all inftantly falling flat upon the ground, with our firelocks cocked, and ready to engage; but this,

CHAP. XXII.

however, proving to be a falſe alarm, by a ſtag ruſhing out through the foliage, we ſoon roſe, and after marching the whole day through water and mire, at three in the afternoon encamped on a high ridge, where not a drop of water was to be found till we had dug a hole for that purpoſe, and this was ſo very thick and muddy, that we were obliged to ſtrain it through our neckcloths or ſhirt-ſleeves before we could drink it. Here I was once more accoſted by the Lieutenant Colonel, who invited me to ſome ſupper in his hut, and treated me upon the whole with ſuch very great civility as I could not account for after his former behaviour.

On the ſucceeding day we marched again, keeping courſe W. and N. W. with very heavy rain, while I had the rear-guard; and once more entered on a quagmire, which coſt me three hours time to bring up the rear to the beach, this march being particularly diſtreſſing, as the negro ſlaves, with their burdens, broke through the ſurface every moment, while the loaded marines had enough to do to mind themſelves, and I too weak by my late loſs of blood to afford them any aſſiſtance whatever. At laſt, approaching the beach, I perceived the dead bodies of ſeveral rebel negroes ſcattered on the ground, with their heads and right-hands chopped off. Theſe bodies being freſh, induced me to conclude, that they muſt have been very lately killed, in ſome engagement with the troops and rangers ſtationed on the Pirica river.—And here I muſt again remark, that had I

been allowed to purſue, on the 21ſt, with the rangers, when I was ordered to march back, the enemy would have been between two fires; in which caſe few could have eſcaped, and all the plundered ſpoil muſt have been re-taken. The reader will probably recollect a ſimilar inſtance which occurred two years before, when I was ſtationed at Devil's Harwar. Had I at that time been provided with men and ammunition to march, I might have rendered the colony a material ſervice. Theſe two capital blunders I am ſorry to relate, but a regard to truth and impartiality obliges me to do it. Let not theſe remarks, however, fix a ſtigma of cruelty on me in the eyes of the world, ſince no man could more ſtrongly feel at the ſight of ſuch manly youths ſtretched dead among the ſurrounding foliage; and finer bodies than two of them were in particular I never beheld in all my life.

> " So two young mountain lions, nurs'd with blood,
> " In deep receſſes of the gloomy wood,
> " Ruſh fearleſs to the plains, and uncontroul'd
> " Depopulate the ſtalls, and waſte the fold;
> " Till pierc'd at diſtance from their native den,
> " O'erpower'd they fall beneath the force of men;
> " Proſtrate on earth their beauteous bodies lay,
> " Like mountain firs, as tall and ſtraight as they."

While my mind was engaged by theſe and ſimilar remarks, many of my loaded ſlaves ſtill remained entangled and ſtruggling in the quagmire, while the com-

CHAP. XXII.

manding officer, with all the other troops, having got on a dry ridge, were quite out of ſight and out of hearing, by which ſeparation the rear-guard not only ran the hazard of loſing all the proviſions and the baggage, but of being cut to pieces, ſuch was their critical ſituation.

Having not a ſingle European that had ſufficient ſtrength remaining to overtake the party which had proceeded, I reſigned the command to my lieutenant, a Mr. *de Loſrios*, and ventured forward alone through the foreſt, till, greatly fatigued, I overtook them; when reporting the ſituation of the rear-guard to Colonel Seyburg, I requeſted "he would ſlacken his pace till they were able to "extricate themſelves and come up from the bog, without which I could not be accountable for the conſe-"quences." To this the reply was, "That he would "form his camp when he met with good water;" and I inſtantly returned to the rear, where having ſtruggled until it was quite dark in a moſt diſtreſſed and dangerous ſituation, the laſt man was dragged out of the mud at ſeven o'clock at night, when we ſlowly proceeded on till we entered the camp.

My ſolicitude for the people, powder, and proviſions, inſtead of procuring me commendation from the perſon under whoſe command I then happened to be, and who had lately been ſo very polite, brought me now into ſuch difficulties, and produced a miſunderſtanding of ſuch a ſerious nature, and ſo very diſtreſſing to my feelings, that it had nearly terminated my exiſtence. The reader may

judge

judge of my mortification, when I inform him, that, inſtead of receiving the approbation of my commander, as I certainly deſerved, I was immediately on my arrival in camp put under an arreſt, to be tried by a court-martial for diſobedience of orders. Colonel Seyburg and I had never been on amicable terms; and though, during the former part of this march, he had treated me with apparent civility, yet from this ſtep it was evident that he was my mortal enemy. I muſt not omit, that though a priſoner (ſtrange to tell!) I was ordered to carry my own arms and accoutrements, till further orders.

On the 24th, we took our departure very early, and directed our courſe S. and S. by W. when we paſſed cloſe by Pinenburg, a forſaken rebel village formerly mentioned—I ſtill a priſoner, in the moſt dejected ſpirits.

On the following day our courſe was S. W. through a matakey or trumpeter moraſs, which was very deep, and which we entered when we were all in a violent ſweat by advancing too faſt while upon the hard ground: but the health of our men was not made an object during this expedition, though ſo much wanted to ſucceed.

Having got again upon a ridge, an accident had now nearly befallen me incomparably greater than all my former misfortunes put together; this was no leſs than, having fallen into a deep reverie, while I followed the rear-guard, I imperceptibly wandered away from the troops, till I was entirely loſt and by myſelf in an unbounded wilderneſs. Quaco no ſooner had miſſed me, than, poor fellow, at

every

CHAP. XXII.

every hazard he rushed through the wood to recover his master, and by a miracle saw me as I was sitting under a tree, in the most dejected state of mind that it is possible to conceive, immersed in grief and abandoned to despair. I had this morning thought myself perfectly unhappy, but now would have given the world once more to have been in the same situation. Good God! entirely cut off from society, in a forest, surrounded by relentless savages! while a deluge of rain poured from the heavens, and tigers, famine, with every woe and every danger, stared me in the face. Farewell, for ever Joanna!—Such was the picture of my mind, when on discovering the boy, I started up from the ground, and a new life instantly diffused itself through my whole frame. Having now straggled backwards and forwards together for some time, I called to the lad that I saw a pool through which the troops seemed to have passed, the water being fresh clouded with mud; but to my utter disappointment, he observed, that this puddle was only occasioned by a Tapira*, and shewed me the print of the animal's foot in the surrounding mire. At this time the boy shed tears, crying, "*Massera, we deade, we deade!*" In the midst, however, of this distress, recollecting that, by the map, the river Pirica was due west from us, I determined to lose no more time, but to set forwards without delay. Thus having fresh primed my fuzee, I ordered Quaco to

* By some called the Hippopotamus of South America, which I will describe in a proper place.

follow

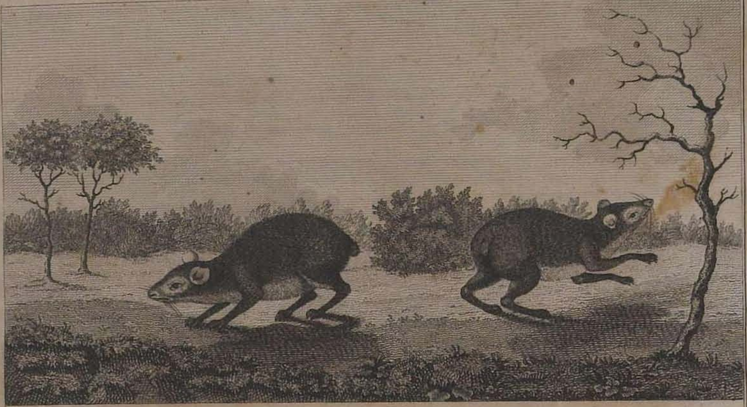
follow me; but again to no purpofe, my compafs being with the troops, and not a glimpfe of funfhine, owing to the heavy rain; till the black boy put me in mind that on the fouth fide the bark of the trees was ufually moft fmooth. This in fact was a fortunate hint, and we proceeded through thick and thin, till, overcome by fatigue and hunger, we both fat down, and looked at each other, exactly like two victims doomed to execution. During this laft mournful filence, we heard a found like coughing and the ruftling of arms, which, thank Heaven! foon proved to be our own troops, luckily for us refting near an old encampment, where the purfuing party from the river Pirica had lately lodged. At this moment, notwithftanding my prefent fituation, I enjoyed an extraordinary degree of mental happinefs; which proves how much all good and evil are only of a relative nature. Having now been heartily welcomed by the other officers, I partook of fome cold beef and bread, and a gourd full of grog, as did alfo my poor boy. After this regale the party rofe, and purfuing our march, we once more entered a quagmire, or rather a mud-pool, the furface being too thin to carry us; through which having waded till it was pitch dark, we were obliged to encamp in the very middle of it, the troops by flinging their hammocks in the trees, one above another, and the flaves on temporary rafts made above the furface of the water, on which were alfo placed the powder, the victuals, &c.

On the 26th, the good Colonel having now drank his coffee

CHAP. XXII.

coffee in his hammock, while he kept the troops ſtanding round it in water above their middle, a whole hour before day-light, we again ſcrambled forward, keeping our courſe, firſt W. and afterwards N. W. when the road was ſo exceſſively bad, that many ſlaves let fall their burdens, breaking, wetting, and ſpoiling every thing that was in them. At laſt, having paſſed through a ſecond deſerted camp, we halted on the old *cordon*, or path of communication on which I formerly diſcovered the track of the rebels, when I commanded in Cottica river; and here, having erected ſlight ſheds, we paſſed the night—I ſtill a priſoner.

At this time a ſmall quadruped running through the camp with incredible ſwiftneſs, it was cut down by one of the rangers with his ſabre. This proved to be the *Paca* or *Spotted Cavey*, called in Surinam the *Aquatic Hare*. This animal is the ſize of a ſucking pig, and extremely fat. The under jaw is ſhort, the noſtrils large, the eyes black, and the ears ſmall and naked. It has five toes on each foot, a tail like the firſt joint of a man's thumb, and whiſkers like a cat; the colour is an earthen brown, with longitudinal rows of buff-coloured ſpots; the belly is a dirty white, the hair all over coarſe and ſhort. The Paca is an amphibious animal. On land it digs up the earth like a hog in queſt of food, and when in danger flies to the water for its ſafety; notwithſtanding this animal is ſo very plump and heavy, it runs ſwifter than moſt other animals of its ſize in South America, contrary to the account given of it in the ſupplement to the



The Agouti, or Indian Coney.

The Paca, or Spotted Cavey.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson, S.t Paul's Church Yard.

the Count de Buffon's defcription*, where it is faid "not "to be nimble, to run but feldom, and then with a bad "grace;" which may all be the cafe in a domeftic ftate (for the Paca is capable of being tamed) but he is not fluggifh in a ftate of nature. This I know to be true, having feen him run like a hare. We had this animal dreffed for fupper, and found him even more delicious than the wood-rat, or even the warra-bofena: indeed, nothing can be better eating than the Paca or fpotted Cavy.

The long-nofed *Cavy*, better known by the name of the *Agouti Pacarara*, or *Indian Coney*, is alfo very common in Surinam: this is the fize of a large rabbit, its colour is an orange brown, the belly yellow; the legs black and flender, with four toes on the fore-feet, and three on the hindermoft; the ears fmall, the eyes a bright black, the upper lip divided; it has whifkers, and its tail is like that of the Paca. This animal breeds very faft, and fuckles its young, which are three or four in number, in concealed holes of old trees, &c. where it alfo retires for fhelter if purfued; but it does not feek its food in the earth, like the former. The Agouti is eafily tamed, and feeds on fruits, roots, nuts, &c. But its flefh, though very good, is not fo delicious as that of the Paca.

In Surinam I have been told there is ftill another fpecies of the Agouti, called the *Indian Rat-Coney*, on account of its having a long tail. This I never faw, unlefs it is the

* See Buffon's Natural Hiftory, Vol. V. page 39.

CHAP. XXII.

ſame animal (which I apprehend it to be) that I have deſcribed under the name of the buſh-rat.

On the 27th we again broke up, and finally arrived in the forenoon, and in a forlorn condition, at the eſtate *Soribo*, on the river Pirica, to defend the plantations againſt Bonny and his rebel negroes.

The river *Pirica* by its many windings is thought to extend about three-ſcore miles. It is very deep but narrow, and has its banks, like all the others, lined with fine coffee and ſugar plantations; its general courſe is from S.E. to N.W. We were ſcarcely arrived at this poſt, than I was accoſted by ſeveral deputies from Colonel Seyburg, who earneſtly intreated that I would only acknowledge myſelf to have been in fault, aſſuring me that I ſhould then be ſet at liberty, and all would be forgotten. As I was conſcious, however, of my own innocence, I could not in common juſtice criminate myſelf in an inſtance, where even my alledged crime amounted to no more than an anxious ſolicitude for the poor men and the proviſions who were entruſted to my care. I was, therefore, placed under the guard of a ſentinel, for what my commander was pleaſed to term unpliant ſtubbornneſs, *and diſarmed.* In the mean time the marines cauſed me freſh uneaſineſs, and of the moſt poignant kind, by loudly threatening to mutiny in my behalf; nor could any thing have prevented them, but my deciſive declaration, that as no cauſe could juſtify military diſobedience and rebellion, I ſhould be under the neceſſity myſelf (however injurious

to

to my feelings) of taking an active part againſt them, and ſeeing the ringleaders brought to condign puniſhment. I felt that at this time I could war with all the world, and nearly with myſelf—my heart was breaking apace—my life became a burden:

> "Dependants, friends, relations, love himſelf,
> "*Savag'd by woe*, forget the tender tie,
> "The ſweet engagements of the feeling heart."

The day after our arrival in this ſtation, we received the particulars of the Pirica news, which were, that on the 20th the eſtates *Schoonhove* and *Altona* had been pillaged by the rebels whom we had routed at Gado-Saby, but that at the plantation *Poelwyk* they had been beaten back by the ſlaves: that the rangers ſtationed at an eſtate called *Hagenbos* had purſued them on the 21ſt, overtaken them on the 23d, killed ſeveral, and brought back moſt of the booty: that on the ſame day another party of the rebels had made an attempt to ſeize the powder magazine at Hagenbos (which was no bad plan) but that (while the rangers were in purſuit of their aſſociates) they had been repulſed by the manly behaviour of a few armed ſlaves, one of whom, belonging to the eſtate *Timotibo*, took an armed rebel himſelf, and next diſcovered their camp at the back of his maſter's plantations; for which he was handſomely rewarded. From all which intelligence, there was now no doubt remaining that if Seyburg's detached party on the 16th had marched

 forwards

CHAP. XXII.

forwards inſtead of backwards, by his orders, the above miſchief might have been prevented, and the enterprize of the rebels entirely fruſtrated. It was alſo evident from this narrative, that the man whom we fired at on the 21ſt was certainly one of the plunderers on the 20th, and that the bodies found dead on the 23d had been ſhot the very ſame day.

On the 29th, among other fruits, ſome dates were ſent to me by a Society officer. This tree is alſo of the Palmeto ſpecies, but not extremely high; its leaves diverge from its ſummit, very thick, hanging down in the form of an umbrella. The dates appear in large cluſters, being an oblong thin fruit like a man's thumb, of a yellow colour, and the pulp, which is fat, firm, and ſweet, adheres to a hard greyiſh-coloured ſtone, with longitudinal furrows.—I ought not to omit mentioning, that this day ſixty rangers going to reconnoitre, diſcovered the old rebel camp at the back of Timotibo, which ſeemed to have contained about ſixty armed men.

On the morning of the 30th of September, having nothing more to do in the neighbourhood of the Pirica River, we left it, and on the 1ſt of October came to Devil's Harwar much fatigued, nothing remarkable having happened on our march. I had written on the preceding day to Colonel Fourgeoud, informing him, that I was weary of exiſtence in my preſent ſtate, and requeſting that a court-martial might be *immediately* called; and this letter I had ſent by a ſlave to the commander in chief.

On our arrival at this ſtation, I indeed found every hard means employed to bring me to terms; and ſuch was the ſevere uſage I experienced, that one of the rangers, called *Captain Quaci*, exclaimed, "If in this manner theſe Europeans treat one another, is it to be wondered at that "they ſhould take a pleaſure in torturing us poor "Africans?"

At Devil's Harwar, however, my ſtormy voyage drew to a concluſion. Colonel Seyburg was evidently convinced that he was wrong, and knowing what muſt follow, now only wiſhed for a handſome opportunity of extricating himſelf from the effects of his unmanly paſſion. On the 2d of October, therefore, he aſked me with a ſmile, "If I had a heart to forget and forgive?" To which I ſternly anſwered, "No!"—He repeated the queſtion.— I then ſaid, "I venerated truth, and would never confeſs "myſelf in an error, unleſs my heart coincided in the "acknowledgment—that this was a conceſſion I would "make to no man living, and leaſt of all to him."—He here graſped my hand, begged me to be pacified, and declared, "That he would make peace on any terms;"— but I again drew back with contempt, and decidedly avowed, "That I could not agree to any compromiſe, unleſs he owned *his fault* in the preſence of all the officers, with his own hands tearing from his journal every "ſentence that could reflect upon my character." The journals were immediately produced, my arms were returned me, and my triumph was attended with every

circumſtance

CHAP. XXII.

circumſtance that could add to my *full ſatisfaction*. I then frankly and ſincerely gave my hand to Colonel Seyburg, who gave a feaſt in honour of our reconciliation; and after dinner, to my utter ſurprize, produced the *letter* which I had written to Colonel Fourgeoud, which he acknowledged he had intercepted to prevent the affair proceeding to extremities: at the ſame time he acquainted me, that Fourgeoud was encamped at the Wana Creek, inſtead of Lieutenant Colonel de Borgnes, who had fallen ſick, and was gone to Paramaribo. A perfect reconciliation having taken place, and every thing being now adjuſted, while the troops having had ſome reſt, we ſet out once more on the 4th for the head quarters at Jeruſalem; but I was obliged to leave poor Quaco, who was very ill, at Devil's Harwar, under care of the ſurgeon; and that evening we encamped oppoſite the mouth of the Cormoetibo Creek.

On the following morning early, having croſſed the River Cottica, the troops marched back to Jeruſalem; where I now had leiſure to reflect on the various evils which befal poor mortals, as well thoſe who are innocent of the difficulties they are brought into, as thoſe (which are the greater part) who have brought themſelves into diſtreſs and even deſpair by their own indiſcretions. Theſe reflections aroſe from finding here, among others, a newly-arrived acquaintance, a Mr. P—t—r, who having ſquandered away in Europe above *thirty thouſand* pounds, and loſt a beautiful wife by elopement, was now

reduced to the income of an enſign in the Society troops. This gentleman having formerly poſſeſſed conſiderable property in this very colony, his preſent ſituation could not but be aſſuredly the more galling on that account.—Alas! unhappy young fellow: well might you exclaim—

"Privé de tout mes biens,
"Dans un climat funeſte,
"Je t'adore & te perds,
"Le poignard ſeul me reſte.
"Mais, Oh! je ſuis P—t—r,
"Reſervé pour ſouffrir;
"Je ſçaurois vivre encore,
"Et faire plus que mourir."

Theſe are the words which he ſpouted with a ſigh, throwing the laſt ſilver he had left among the ſlaves; and indeed nothing could be more applicable to himſelf than the lines he quoted, or more lamentable than this poor devil's forlorn condition; which, however, created in me, during my preſent humour, no other effect—than a loud and immoderate fit of laughter.

CHAP. XXIII.

Second march to Gado-Saby—Account of a living Skeleton—Beautiful Landſcapes—The Commander in Chief falls ſick, and leaves the Camp—Some Rebels taken—Diſcourſe on the Exiſtence of Mermaids—Heavy Rains—Diſeaſe—Famine—Miſery.

CHAP. XXIII.

ON the 9th of October, 1775, Colonel Fourgeoud broke up the encampment at the Wana Creek to join us at Jeruſalem, having ſent down the half of his party ſick in barges; and their number being greatly augmented by the invalids from this place, they were all together tranſported to receive the *coup-de-grace* in the hoſpital at Devil's Harwar. The rangers alſo took their leave, and marched, with Mr. Vinſack their conductor, to guard the Pirica River.

Fourgeoud, during his laſt cruize, had diſcovered a hundred empty houſes, and ſeen ſome ſtraggling rebels, but he had taken none. He had alſo found a ſcalp fixed to the branch of a tree, which we juſtly conjectured to be the remains of the unfortunate *Schmidt*, who was loſt *.

On the 13th my black boy, Quaco, being perfectly re-

* This was the more ſurpriſing, as we were at peace with all the *Indians*, and ſcalping was never practiſed by the *negroes*.

covered,

covered, arrived, to my great ſatisfaction, as his fidelity to me was ſo ſteady and unſhaken. At the ſame time we received an account that Captain Stoelman, with ſome rangers, had diſcovered a freſh ſettlement of the rebels by a great ſmoke appearing at a diſtance in the foreſt, but had not yet attacked them; that Captain Fredericy, with a party of black volunteers, was ſcouring the ſea-ſide below Paramaribo; that the two men we had loſt on the 18th of Auguſt had miraculouſly eſcaped, and found their way to the poſt at the river Marawina; and that no leſs than twelve fine negro ſlaves had juſt deſerted from the *Gold Mine* eſtate to join the rebels.

This news ſo much exaſperated Colonel Fourgeoud, that the indefatigable man again determined to perſevere in purſuing his enemies. We accordingly entered the woods very early on the morning of the 15th, although he and his little army were at this time greatly reduced. He buried but the evening before one of his countrymen, a volunteer, called *Matthew*, and brother to the enſign: but death was now become ſo familiar to us, that upon loſing a friend or relation, the firſt queſtion generally was, "Has he left any brandy, rum, or to-"bacco?"—"Pauvre Laurant!" ſaid I, to his ſhrivelled valet-de-chambre, "the brave Fourgeoud is like fire; he "is to the colony an excellent ſervant indeed; but I think "to both you and myſelf but a roughiſh maſter." The poor fellow, ſhrugging up his ſhoulders, replied, with a grin and a heavy ſigh, "*Oui, par ma foi!*" and then treated

CHAP. XXIII. me with a pinch of his ſnuff. I muſt not omit that, a little before our departure, ſeven more of our negro ſlaves did deſert us, who went home to their maſters perfectly broken-hearted, emaciated, and nearly ſtarved; however, we proceeded, and marched directly N.E. during which nothing happened, except my box with all my bottles being daſhed to pieces; and in the evening we encamped, though *then* unknown to us, near the Caſſipore Creek, where the dry ſeaſon having commenced, we dug a pit for water. Orders were alſo iſſued to the troops no more to build huts, ſheds, &c. as the rains were now leſs violent.

On the 16th we continued our route, marching N.E. as before, and towards the evening arrived at the houſes which Colonel Fourgeoud had lately diſcovered, which proved ſince to be only a temporary ſettlement, erected by the rebels as a ſhelter or aſylum in their expected retreat, before they were diſlodged from Gado-Saby; and to this little ſettlement they had given the name of *Booſſy Cry*, that is, "the woods lament." Here we encamped, and took much notice of Bonny's houſe in particular, which was built like a watering machine, being elevated from the ground, with two doors, ſo that he might the better obſerve all around him, and prevent his being taken by ſurprize; it alſo had more air, and, of courſe, was better calculated for his health, he having in ſome late action received a very dangerous wound in the groin, as we afterwards learned from a rebel negro priſoner. Near to

Bonny's houſe were the private baths, where his women waſhed themſelves morning and evening, there being no river near this ſettlement.

In this encampment one of our ſlaves preſented me with a *land-turtle*, which indeed we had met with ſeveral times before; but as I have never deſcribed this animal, I will now endeavour to give ſome account of it.—The land-turtle of Surinam is not more than eighteen or twenty inches in length, and of an oval form; the ſhell is more convex than that of the ſea-turtle, and marked with thirteen elevated hexangular ſhields, dark brown and yellow, ſo hard that it will bear almoſt any weight without breaking; the under ſhell is a little concave, and of a light yellow: the head of this animal reſembles that of other turtles; the tail is naked and ſhort, but inſtead of fins or ſwimmers it has four feet covered with ſcales, and armed with ſharp claws to aſſiſt it in crawling over the ground. When this poor creature ſees any danger, it inſtantly ſhrinks within its ſhell. In this ſituation the Indians put it on the fire, where they broil it until it is dreſt, which is known by the under ſhell ſeparating from the upper, which ſerves for a diſh to hold the contents. A leſs barbarous way, and the way which I always followed, is only to provoke the animal by the heat of the embers to run away; when ſtretching out its head and neck, they are eaſily chopped off, and the food extracted without additional torture. I have known Mr. de Graaf keep three or four of theſe land-turtles for above four

months

CHAP. XXIII.

months for tranſportation, during which time they lived without any apparent nouriſhment whatever, yet ſtill remained vigorous, and even prone to copulation.

Another kind of land-turtle, called here the *arlacacca*, I have often ſeen; this is leſs in circumference, very flat, of a diſagreeable greeniſh colour, and nothing like ſo good as the former.

On the 17th we continued our march N. and N.E. in hopes of more diſcoveries, but without ſucceſs. We this day paſſed ſome ant-hillocks above ſix feet high, and, without exaggeration, above one hundred feet in circumference. We alſo ſaw great quantities of valuable timber, and, among the reſt, the *black-cabbage* tree, the wood of which is of a deep brown, and is in high eſtimation among carpenters and joiners. The *ſand-booker* tree was likewiſe ſhewn me, which receives its name from the fruit, which being diveſted of its ſeed, is uſed as a ſand-box by writers. It is of the ſhape of a large onion, with ſmall holes in the ſurface; the ſeed is both laxative and emetic, but the juice of the pulp is a fatal poiſon. More than this I cannot ſay, having had neither the time nor the power of examining it with the accuracy of a profeſſed botaniſt.

On the 18th we continued the ſame courſe for a few hours longer, when we found a beaten path, which, though circuitous, ſeemed to be a communication between Gado-Saby and Booſſy-Cry. We followed this path, which led us due W. for a few hours, when a poor

rebel

rebel negro was found by me covered with branches of the manicole-tree, and indeed barely alive, being in appearance nothing but ſkin and bone, with one of his eyes almoſt beaten out of the ſocket. I put my bottle to his mouth, he ſwallowed a few drops of rum and water, and ſaid with a faint voice, which we could ſcarcely hear, "Dank ye, me Maſſera!" but could articulate nothing more. Fourgeoud ordered this man to be carried with us in a hammock; and we ſoon afterwards encamped near a biree-biree ſwamp or quagmire. I ought not to forget that this day we ſaw ſome very fine *locuſt-trees*, being eighty or a hundred feet high, and prodigiouſly thick; the trunk is grey and very ſtraight, with no branches till near the top, on which the leaves are diſpoſed two to each ſtem: this is juſtly called the king of the foreſt, for a finer tree cannot be found. The timber is of a beautiful cinnamon-colour, and poſſeſſes every deſireable quality of gravity, poliſh, grain, and durability.—But what particularly attracted our notice was its ſeed, like beans, three or four in number, encloſed in a broad light-brown pod, that lay ſcattered in quantities at the root of the tree, upon the ground, and taſted like ſome kinds of gingerbread. From the root of this tree a gum exudes, which, properly prepared, affords a varniſh hitherto unequalled for tranſparency and effect.

Innumerable indeed are the various fine trees that this country produces, and which may be had for the cutting; yet, when we conſider the diſtance they uſually grow from navigable rivers, the great labour in felling and

working

CHAP. XXIII.

working them, the vaſt number of ſlaves required to drag them through the foreſt, where no horſes can be employed, beſides the danger and loſs of time, we may eaſily account for the enormous price generally paid for the beſt timber in Guiana.

This march undoubtedly afforded us the moſt enchanting proſpects that can be imagined, in a luxuriant and ever-green foreſt, while the dry ſeaſon contributed greatly to beautify the ſcene; and ſimple nature by far outſhone the moſt ſtrenuous endeavours of art. Here we met with immenſe ſavannas of the moſt lovely verdure, interſperſed with meandring brooks of water, cool and clear as rock cryſtal; their borders adorned with flowers of every lively hue and fragrance. In ſome places we obſerved ſmall clumps of elegant ſhrubs, or perhaps a ſingle tree, whoſe beauty would almoſt induce one to think they had been deſignedly left growing to enrich the ſcene. The whole ſurrounded by a vaſt wood of lofty palm-trees, waving their ſea-green foliage above the variegated copſe of never-fading verdure, bloſſom, and fruit, as if to invite the panting wanderer under its cooling ſhade, till in the later hours he might enjoy the bracing pleaſures of the limpid flood, and contemplate nature's beauties undiſturbed.—When univerſal ſilence reigned every where around, how often have I thought on my *dear friend*, and wiſhed with her to glide through life in theſe Elyſian fields!—But I muſt wave the pleaſing recollection.

On the 19th we again marched, and fell in with our

old

old path, which we followed, leading directly to the fields of Gado-Saby, where quantities of rice once more appeared in full bloom, which we cut down and burned to ashes. Here, perceiving the poor rebel negro hopeless of recovery, not absolutely to bury him alive, he was overspread with moss, leaves, and green boughs; after which we flung our hammocks, being almost choaked with smoke.

In these fields I saw a lizard above two feet long, which the negro slaves killed and ate: they called it *sapagala*, it was of a brownish green colour, but did not resemble the iguana. Among the ruins of the consumed town we discovered some *scolopendras*, or centipedes, no less than eight or ten inches in length; this odious reptile is of a yellowish-brown colour, walks very fast backwards or forwards, and bites so severely, that the venom it infuses, though not deemed fatal, generally produces a fever. Some writers assign this reptile twenty pair of legs, others forty; I never reckoned them, and can only observe, that they appeared to me exactly to resemble the centipedes in Europe. Some of our gentlemen formed large collections of these curiosities, which were very valuable, whilst I contented myself with the drawings and descriptions only of those I thought most uncommon.

On the 20th, we marched to visit *Cosaay*, when I perceiving the unhappy negro captive still alive; after removing the branches, he was, at my earnest intercession, once more carried along with us; but the slaves, being

discontented

CHAP. XXIII.

difcontented with fuch a load, took every opportunity, in my abfence, of torturing him, by knocking him againft roots and ftones, and dragging him through mud and water as they went along. Different patroles were now ordered out to reconnoitre the grounds, while the remainder of the troops encamped in the *weft* part of Cofaay; and thefe patroles difcovered no lefs than four beautiful fields in one chain, fituated due weft from Cofaay, well ftocked with caffava, yams, plantains, piftachio nuts, with maize and pigeon peas: alfo were feen feveral human carcafes, the relicts of our late engagements in Auguft. We found here a fpecies of *medlars* of a crimfon colour, and of a tafte very much like that of ftrawberries. This fruit grows on a large green fhrub, and is cultivated in many gardens at Paramaribo. We alfo met with a kind of wild plum-tree called *monpe:* the fruit is yellow, oblong, and fmall; the ftone is large, the pulp thin, and though of a fharp acid has an agreeable flavour.

On the morning of the 21ft, all thefe and every ufeful vegetable were cut down, and again deftroyed by fire; after which, returning to our laft night's camp, we found it alfo in flames, and were obliged to fling our hammocks in the *eaft* fkirts of the woods. Here, recollecting that the poor difabled rebel was left alone, I ran back *weft* to the burning camp to afford him affiftance; but after feeking him in vain through clouds of fmoke and darknefs, I was forced to confult my own fafety, by haftily return-

ing

ing to my companions; ſome blaming me much for my temerity, others damning the *ſkeleton*, whether dead or alive.

The devaſtation being now compleated, we marched back to Jeruſalem, where on the 24th we arrived perfectly exhauſted, and Fourgeoud at laſt ſo ill with a phrenzy fever, that he was confined to his hammock, with ſmall hopes of ſurviving the night. But he however ſtill continued to command, and the next morning ordered a marine to be baſtonaded, for aſking ſhoes, although he was bare-footed, and his feet tore to pieces; while another was flogged for coughing, who had a ſevere cold; a captain was diſmiſſed from actual ſervice, and confined in Fort Zealandia, for having dared to marry without his conſent.—Sickneſs and death now raged through the camp, and every thing was in the utmoſt confuſion.

To compleat the whole, on the 1ſt of November, twenty-five more negro ſlaves ran away; and on the 3d we received intelligence that no leſs than fifty armed rebels had been ſeen ſwimming acroſs the River Cottica, about a muſket-ſhot above Barbacoeba.

In conſequence of this information, Colonel Seyburg was detached, with the few men that remained able to carry arms, who through diſtreſs and famine were now almoſt ready to attack their own officers; and who being unſupplied with their favourite luxury, tobacco*, ſat

* All ſailors, ſoldiers, and negroes are particularly miſerable without tobacco: it keeps up their ſpirits, they ſay, and ſome *almoſt* prefer it to bread.

 ſmoking

CHAP. XXIII.

ſmoking grey paper, and chewing leaves and leather as a ſubſtitute for the want of it. Few men, however, were worſe off than I was at this time; ſince, having neither proviſions nor cloaths, I was almoſt naked as well as ſtarved, with a running ulcer in my left foot, ever ſince the ambuſcade and march to Pirica; nor had I a friend in the camp who could give me the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. To compleat my miſery, the little blood I had remaining was in *two* ſucceſſive nights again nearly ſucked away by the vampire-bat, or ſpectre: thus I fainted away in my hammock, and was almoſt ſorry to recover, particularly upon being informed by a letter that Joanna and her boy were dying with a putrid fever at Paramaribo.

At laſt, on the 12th, Serjeant Fowler arrived from *Mocha*, with *one* of my boxes; when this poor fellow, notwithſtanding my ſituation, made me laugh aloud by producing a letter from his mother in Europe, which made him extremely happy; and which I muſt beg leave *verbatim* to tranſcribe.

"Dair Shonny,

"I have relaved your girl from the Bridevail—and your "ſhits from the panbroker—the baby is died—bleſſed be Goat, "while I hop yow be living. I am your laffing mother tell "death, MAGGY FOWLER."

The ſame evening Colonel Seyburg's party returned, without having obtained any further intelligence.

On the 14th Colonel Fourgeoud was ſo dangerouſly ill,

ill, that he at length was obliged to relinquiſh his command, and proceed to town for his recovery. Accordingly on the 15th, he ſet out by water for Paramaribo: thus, after having ſacrificed all his troops, he became himſelf finally a victim to his unbounded ambition and obſtinate perſeverance in this worſt of all climates, while by toiling leſs and living better both he and his ſoldiers might have rendered the colony, if not ſuperior, at leaſt an equal ſervice.—A barge loaded with ſick and dying was at the ſame time once more ſent to the hoſpital at Devil's Harwar.

The command of the remaining ſcarecrows now devolved upon the Lieutenant Colonel, who (ſtrange to tell!) that very evening inherited the *ſame* diſtemper, as well as the chief command; the barge that rowed off the old hero having but juſt diſappeared, when this gentleman was attacked alſo by the phrenzy fever; the above complaint was indeed at this time very common amongſt all ranks and degrees who were broiling under a burning ſun at Jeruſalem; it being the dry ſeaſon, when we ought to have been in the woods—but for thoſe expeditions, as I have ſtated before, the rainy ſeaſons were moſt unhappily preferred. Several officers would have before now thrown up their military commiſſions, could they with decency have taken ſuch a meaſure, during an expedition on actual ſervice; nor, in my opinion, ought ſuch to be granted, caſes of the very greateſt neceſſity excepted. I could myſelf have wiſhed to go for ſome time to Paramaribo,

 but

CHAP. XXIII.

but as this favour was not offered me, while all the others, and even the ſlaves, were relieved, I ſcorned to petition for it while I was able to ſtand.

On the 19th, however, my foot became ſo bad, that the ſurgeon reported me unfit for duty; yet I ſtill remained in the camp, where I could be to none of any ſervice.

A ſupply of freſh troops, ſlaves, and proviſions being arrived on the 20th, Major Medlar, with 150 men, was detached to make new diſcoveries.

Among other plagues, the whole camp at this time ſwarmed with *locuſts*, which appeared every where in moſt formidable troops, devouring every thing that lay in their way. Indeed the curſe of Heaven ſeemed to viſit us here in various ſhapes, and every vermin were ſo plenty at this time, that no exertion could keep us perfectly free. Theſe locuſts were brown, two inches in length, and ſhaped like a graſshopper; they did not fly, but crawled by millions on the very tables and ſeats as we ſat at dinner, and at night they tormented us by crawling over our faces by ſcores.

The only deſirable article we found at Jeruſalem was fiſh, of which we ſeldom wanted plenty, particularly *new-mara* and *warrappa*, alſo the *patakee*, and the *old wifee*, both very excellent; the former of which is about two feet long, ſhaped like a whiting, the other is the ſize of a large perch. A kind of needle-fiſh, called *naaynaay-fiſee*, was found here in great abundance, theſe were very thin, and about one foot in length; alſo a kind of

dung-

CHAP. XXIII.

dung-fiſh, about the ſize of a ſmall herring, but theſe two laſt were only uſed by the negroes.

On the 3d of December, Major Medlar's party returned, after fourteen days abſence, with a captive rebel woman and her boy about eight years old, taken in a ſmall field of bitter caſſava. The poor woman was pregnant, and under great alarms, but was tenderly treated by Medlar, who was always a humane and well-diſpoſed gentleman. He had, however, unluckily loſt two of his beſt men, one *Schoelar*, a corporal, the other called *Philip Van den Bos*, a private marine, who having inadvertently eaten a few roots of the above *bitter caſſava* were poiſoned, and died during the ſame night with the moſt excruciating pain and convulſions: the antidote is ſaid to be Cayenne pepper and ſpirits, neither of which were at that time to be procured.

The black woman confirmed the account that Bonny had been wounded; ſhe alſo told us the poor ſtarved negro we had found was called *Iſaac*, and had been left for dead. That one Captain *Arico* had formed a new ſettlement near the ſea, called *Fiſſy-Hollo*; while Bonny, ſhe aſſured us, maintained the ſtricteſt diſcipline amongſt his troops: he was, ſhe ſaid, abſolutely deſpotic, and had executed two of his men but three days before we took Gado-Saby, *viz.* during the night of the 17th Auguſt, when we heard the firing and ſhouting, only upon ſuſpicion of having hinted ſome few words in favour of the Europeans, and were the heads which we found ſtuck

on

CHAP. XXIII.

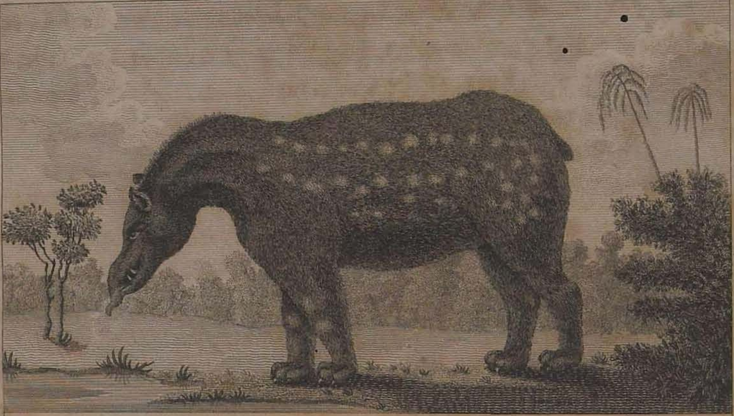
on the ſtakes. She further aſſured us, that none of his people were truſted with arms, until they had firſt ſerved him ſome years as ſlaves, and given him unqueſtionable proofs of fidelity and reſolution. But theſe, ſhe obſerved, were but few in number, when compared to his numerous vaſſals, who were bound to do without murmuring whatever he thought proper to command them; yet that he *ſtill* was more beloved than he was feared, on account of his inflexible juſtice and manly courage.

On the 4th December, this poor woman and her boy were ſent to Paramaribo, with Enſign *de Cabaines*, who had taken them: he had at the ſame time nearly ſeized a young girl about fifteen, who by her great agility, and being ſtark naked, ſlipped out of his hands:

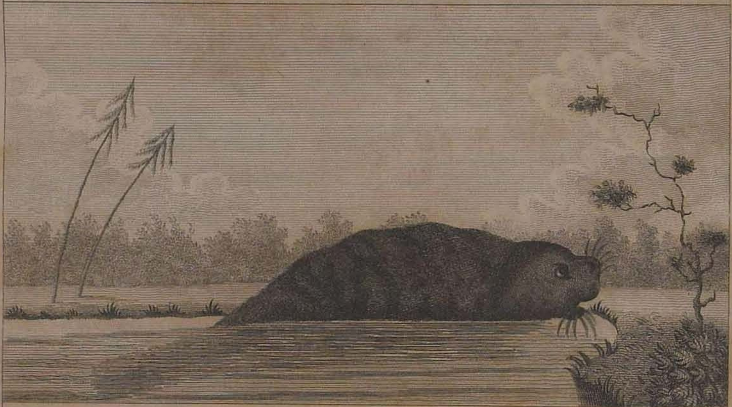
——————" Fugit ocior aurâ
" Illa levi: neque ad hæc revocantis verba reſiſtit:
" Nympha, precor, Peneia, mane: non inſequor hoſtis.
" Nympha, mane."————

OVID.

It being proved at the court that the above woman had been forcibly carried off by the rebels, though many years before, the poor creature was pardoned, and joyfully returned with her child to her maſter's plantation. It is remarkable, that when the boy ſaw the firſt cow or horſe he almoſt fell into convulſions with terror; nor could he bear to be touched by any white perſon, whom



The Tapir, or Hippopotamus of South America.



The Manati, or Sea Cow of Guiana.

Barlow sculp.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson S.t Pauls Church Yard.

he never had ſeen before, and whom he conſtantly called *Yorica*, which in his language ſignifies the devil.

About this time a dead ſea-cow, or *manatee*, by the French called *Lamantin*, floating paſt Jeruſalem, the negro ſlaves fell upon it, like ſo many crows upon a carrion, ſwimming round it, ſome with a ruſty knife, ſome with a bill-hook, and each carrying off a ſlice for his dinner; at laſt they dragged the ſtinking animal on ſhore, of which I inſtantly took a drawing. This manatee was exactly ſixteen feet long, almoſt ſhapeleſs, being an enormous lump of fat, tapering backwards to a fleſhy, broad, horizontal tail. It had a thick round head, a flattiſh ſnout, large noſtrils, with ſtrong briſtles both on its noſe and chin, ſmall eyes, and auditory holes inſtead of ears. Inſtead of feet, it had two excreſcences or fleſhy fins, like thoſe of the ſea-turtle, projecting near its head; with theſe it ſwims, and moves awkwardly to eat the graſs on the banks of the rivers, being an amphibious animal. The colour was a greeniſh black; the ſkin was hard and uneven, covered with large knobs, circular wrinkles, and with a very few ſtiff hairs thinly ſcattered. It had grinders but no fore-teeth, and a very ſhort tongue. The ſea-cow or manatee is, like the whale, a viviparous animal, the female ſuckling its young by the help of its ſwimmers. They are very numerous in the river Amazons; their fleſh, it is ſaid, reſembles veal, and is very good food. This was, however, too far advanced in a ſtate of putridity, for me to taſte it. It had the marks of being

twice

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

CHAP. XXIII.

twice ſhot, which muſt have been by the rebels on the 27th, when we heard the report of two muſkets at a diſtance.

As I am once more on the ſubject of natural hiſtory, I ſhall deſcribe another amphibious animal, called the *tapira*, which bears ſome diſtant reſemblance to the hippopotamus of the old continent, but it is a great deal leſs. This creature is about the ſize of a ſmall aſs, but much more clumſy. The head is not unlike that of a horſe, but the upper lip much longer, projecting ſomething like the proboſcis of an elephant, and is alſo moveable, but too ſhort to be of uſe, as is the trunk of that animal; the ears are ſhort, the tuſks ſtrong, and ſometimes viſible, the mane is briſtly and erect, the limbs are low and ſtrong, with a kind of hoof divided into four claws, and the tail is thick and ſhort, like that of the elephant. The ſkin of this creature is exceſſively thick, of a brown colour, and when young it is marked with white ſpots, like thoſe of the ſtag or paca, proceeding in longitudinal rows. It feeds on graſs, and other herbs that grow in watery places, and is ſo ſhy, that when alarmed by the ſmalleſt noiſe it plunges under water, alſo like the paca, for ſecurity, where it remains for a conſiderable time. The fleſh of the tapira is delicate, being accounted ſuperior to the beſt ox-beef.—See both the above animals in the annexed plate.

A Mr. *Selefelder*, of the Society ſervice, at this time aſſured me, that he ſaw quite a different river-horſe in the

river

River Marawina; and Major *Abercromby*, of the ſame ſervice, declared, that a *mermaid* was lately ſeen in the River Surinam. Lord *Monboddo* alſo poſitively affirms the exiſtence of ſea-women and ſea-men, while he aſſerts that they were ſeen ſo late as 1720. But, however reſpectable his lordſhip's judgment and authority may be on other ſubjects, I can no more agree with him, as to men and women having fins and ſcales, than to their having *tails*.

The plain fact, in my humble opinion, is this, that in many rivers between the Tropics, both on the coaſt of Africa and South America, a fiſh ſometimes appears half above the water, that bears a diſtant reſemblance of the human ſpecies, but is ſmaller, nearly ſuch as in 1794 was exhibited in London. The colour is of a blackiſh green; the head is round, with a deformed kind of a face; a ſtrong fin runs from near the eyes to the middle of the back, which ſomething reſembles flowing hair: and the two ſuppoſed arms and hands, are two fleſhy fins, or rather digitated ſwimmers; the female has breaſts aſſuredly like a woman's, being a viviparous animal; while the tail is exactly that of a fiſh, in moſt of which properties it agrees with the ſeal, but this laſt has no fin along the back, and is conſiderably larger, while it never appears erect above the water, like the former. The above information I had from ſeveral old negroes and Indians, who all agreed perfectly in the deſcription; ſome added, that they ſang, which I apprehend to be no other than a

CHAP. XXIII.

grunting noiſe which they emit like moſt other tropical fiſh and amphibious animals.

They concluded by aſſuring me, that though they were ſcarce, nothing was more dreaded by their wives and children, than the *Watra Mama*, which ſignifies the mother of the waters; and by which name, ſtrange to tell, they diſtinguiſh their *Sybils*.—So much for the *monſters* of the deep; and now I ſhall once more return to thoſe infeſting Terra Firma.

I have juſt mentioned, that, on account of a very bad foot, I had been returned unfit for duty by the ſurgeon, on the 19th of November; yet this day, December 5th, another ſurgeon, with two captains, and the adjutant, were ſent to inſpect both *me* and Captain *Perret*, who was alſo ſick. The ſurgeon gave his declaration *upon oath*, that we were incapable of walking without danger, much more of undergoing fatigue; but Seyburg, who was ſtill in his phrenzy fever, declared we ſhould inſtantly enter the woods, though he ſhould ſee us carried in two *wheel-barrows*. Poor Captain Perret complied to turn out, though he looked like a ghoſt, and could ſcarcely ſtand; but I ſolemnly ſwore that I would blow out the firſt man's brains who dared *diſreſpectfully* to touch me: in conſequence of which I was cloſe guarded by a ſentinel; while the whole camp, upon my ſoul, now ſeemed to be compoſed of none but madmen.

On the 11th we received intelligence that a number of armed rebels had been juſt ſeen oppoſite to Devil's Harwar,

war, and afterwards informed they were upon their retreat from the Comawina River, where on the 5th they had burnt to ashes the dwelling-house of the estate *Killestyn Nova*, with Mr. *Slighter* the overseer *in it*, ransacked the whole plantation, killed and carried off thirty-three women, and chopped off the limb of a male mulatto child, to be revenged of its father; and that the Pirica rangers were in pursuit of them. Captain Fredericy also arrived this day, who had exchanged from the Society troops into Colonel Fourgeoud's regiment of marines, and confirmed to us the above unhappy news.

About this time, after having starved four months, my remaining stores arrived at last from Mocha, but three-fourths rotted and destroyed by the *blata* or cockroaches: the remaining part I distributed among the sick people. But what proved truly acceptable, was the cheering account that *Joanna* and *Johnny* were past danger, and recovering at Paramaribo. This intelligence indeed so elevated my spirits, that the next morning I reported myself fit for duty, though God knows that I was not; and to this I was the more induced by the want of fresh air, of which I was perfectly debarred in my confinement, and stood so much in need. The same evening a boat full of Caribbee Indians rowed up Cormoetibo, for the River Marawina, by the communication of the Wana Creek.

In eight days more, which was the 20th of December, being actually recovered of the wound in my foot, and Seyburg of his phrenetic fever, another officer and I played him the following trick, for his bad usage.

CHAP. XXIII.

Having invited this gentleman, with his adjutant, and a few more, to ſee us act a farce by candle-light, we affected to quarrel, and beating out the candle, the door being well ſecured, laid on in the dark with ſuch ſucceſs upon a certain ſomebody's ſhoulders, that, calling out Murder! he leaped out at the window. Nothing ever gave me greater entertainment than to perceive his agility; but Colonel Seyburg declared he would never more to *our play* be a ſpectator.

At this time orders arrived from Colonel Fourgeoud, who was alſo better, to break up our camp at Jeruſalem, and march once more to the Wana Creek. In conſequence the ſick were again ſent down in barges to the hoſpital at Devil's Harwar, which was nearly full, while ſeveral were labouring under a diſeaſe ſomething like the *tympany*, called here the *kook*, being a prodigious hardneſs and ſwelling in the belly, occaſioned, it is ſaid, by drinking muddy water without ſpirits, which was indeed our daily and general beverage.

On the 22d, at ſix o'clock in the morning, we all decamped, and ſcrambled up along the banks of the Cormoetibo Creek, through a perfect bog, while one poor negro, who had his head fractured, was left behind, and another knocked over-board one of the barges, who was drowned.

We this day again ſaw great numbers of pingoes or warree-hogs, which as uſual breaking through our line, were cut down by ſabres and ſtabbed, while ſome ran off with the bayonets ſticking in their hams.

This

This march was peculiarly difagreeable, upon account of the heavy rains, which now began to fall down in torrents, overflowing the banks of all the rivers; and fo cold were the damps in the morning, contrafted with the late warm days, that we frequently lay fhivering in our hammocks as in froft, efpecially when fleeping in wet cloaths. This inconvenience, however, I obviated to day by marching half naked, like the rangers, and putting my fhirt in one of the reverfed kettles, during the rain—thus my fkin foon drying, after a fhower, I again put on my linen, and found myfelf much more comfortable than any of my trembling ghaftly looking companions.

On the evening of the 23d, we encamped near a rivulet called the *Caymans* or Alligator Creek; where a tree called *Monbiara* afforded fome excellent fruit, but this was entirely ftripped by the flaves before I could either tafte or even fee it in perfection.

The rains continuing to pour down in a deluge, I again marched ftripped on the 24th, and we flung our hammocks in the evening, near a brook called *Yorica*, or the Devil's Creek, where we made huts or fheds to cover us, and ftowed the provifions upon rafters.

On the following day we once more laboured through deep mud and water, in very heavy rains, and encamped at another fmall brook, called the *Java Creek*, three miles below the Wana.

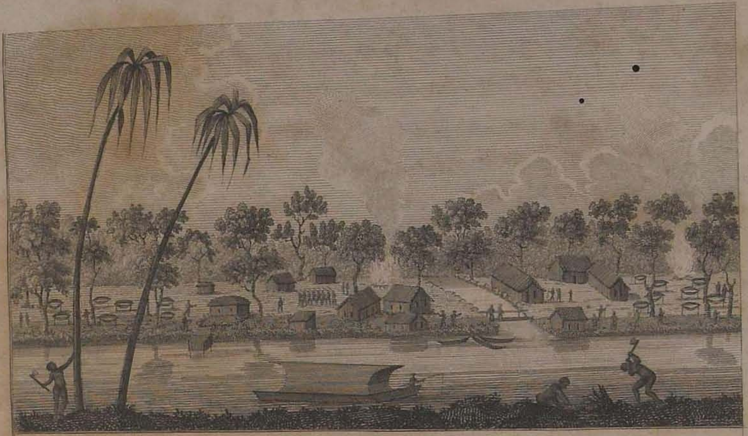
On the 26th I was felected, with a fmall party, to reconnoitre the old camps at Wana Creek. In the evening we

CHAP. XXIII.

we returned, half ſwimming through mud and water, and having literally ſeen nothing, except ſome birds and curious trees, which I cannot paſs unnoticed. The birds were called the *Cromback*, the *Camawarry*, and the *Crocro*. The firſt is a kind of large ſnipe, the ſize of a woodcock, with a crooked bill. The ſecond is alſo a water fowl, but three times as large as the firſt: on account of their ſwiftneſs, and diſappearing in a moment, I can give but a very imperfect deſcription of them. The *Crocro* is ſomething leſs than our ravens, and I believe of the ſame ſpecies, being one of the moſt voracious birds of the carnivorous tribe; in Guiana it is of a dark blue colour, has a remarkably ſtrong bill and limbs, and croaks exceſſively loud and diſagreeably, eſpecially by night. The trees were what the negroes called the *Matakee*, and the *Markoory*. The firſt is remarkable for its roots, which ſpread above the ground in ſuch a manner, that they will conceal a ſcore of men from each other; nay ſo large are they ſometimes, that a horſeman may ride through between the interſtices, and one ſingle piece is ſufficient to make a table large enough to hold twelve people.

For a better idea of this wonderful tree, I refer the reader to the annexed plate; where I have placed it upon the oppoſite ſhore of the encampment at Jeruſalem. In the ſame plate, he is alſo preſented with a *fair-weather* view of the camp at Java Creek.

The other tree, called the Markoory, is truly formidable



View of the Camp at the Java Creek.

View of the Encampment at Jerusalem.

Barlow sculp

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

on account of its poiſonous qualities, which are of ſuch a ſubtle nature, that the very ſmoke of this wood, when on fire, is fatal to thoſe animals that receive it into their lungs; this is always ſeen to grow by itſelf, as it infallibly kills every thing around it, nay even the ſlaves refuſe to cut it down on the plantations, ſo much are they afraid of touching, or of even coming near to it. The Markoory is low, ugly, and uneven, with very few branches, and a pale verdure. I have been told that ſome of the Indians render their arrows fatal by dipping the barbs of them in its ſap.

On the 27th, another patrole was ſent out, but to no better purpoſe than the firſt. I have mentioned that my foot was recovered, and ſo it was, but I had now extracted out of my right arm two dreadful inſects, which left behind them very deep ulcers. Theſe are called in Surinam the *buſh-worms*, and are the ſhape and ſize of the aurelia of the common butterfly, with a pointed tail and black head. They ſtuck extremely faſt in the fleſh, and were extracted with a lancet. They breed naturally in ſtagnated waters, in marching conſtantly through which they had attached themſelves to my fleſh.

My heart now began to ſink with accumulated diſaſters; my mind was agitated and depreſſed with a conſtant train of tortures, to which I could ſee no end, and I became weary of life. In this dreadful ſituation I fell upon my naked knees, and invoked the malediction of Heaven to fall on me, if I did not ſeparate myſelf from

my

CHAP. XXIII.

my prefent commanders and this fervice, the firft honourable opportunity that fhould offer itfelf;—how religioufly I have perfevered in obferving this vow, fhall be feen in the fequel of thefe pages, before I take my final farewell of my readers.

The place of our prefent encampment was now intolerable beyond every defcription, being conftantly overflowed, fo that the ammunition and provifions were ftowed for prefervation on wooden rafts; nor could we ftep out of our hammocks without being up to the knees in mud and water, where it was moft fhallow, while the gnats and other infects devoured us alive. The confequence of all which was, that *another* barge full of dying wretches was fent down the Cormoetibo Creek, bound for the hofpital at Devil's Harwar; among whom the poor old negro with his fractured fkull, who had only yefterday rejoined us in his fhocking condition. This floating *charnel-houfe* weighed anchor on the laft day of the year 1775—with which I fhall beg leave to conclude this gloomy chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Two Volunteer Companies raiſed, of free Mulattoes and Negroes—Deſcription of the Arrowouka Indian Nation—Colonel Fourgeoud's Regiment receives orders to ſail for Europe—Countermanded—Re-enter the Woods—Trade of the Colony—Deſcription of a Cacao Eſtate—Sample of Sable Heroiſm.

CHAP. XXIV.

TO what good ſtar I was obliged, in the midſt of all our confuſion and diſtreſs, I know not, but certain it is, that Colonel Seyburg having ſent for me on the firſt day of the new year, not only ſolicited my future friendſhip, but declared he was ſorry for all the ill-treatment he had ever occaſioned me, for which he principally blamed Mr. *Gibhart*, his adjutant and ſpy; then taking me by the hand, as a proof of his real regard, permitted me from that moment to go to Paramaribo, or wherever I pleaſed, to refreſh and refit until further orders; which had ſuch an effect on me, that having inſtantly converted every drop of my rum into grog, we ſat down, together with two other officers, and drowned all former animoſity in oblivion, till we could hardly ſee each other. In this condition I took my leave that very evening of my *new* friend and the camp at Java Creek, and rowed down in the beſt ſpirits for Paramaribo.

CHAP. XXIV.

Next morning, having ſlept during moſt of the paſſage, I breakfaſted at Devil's Harwar, where I found that the unfortunate Gibhart had juſt ſet ſail for the *other* world. In the evening we arrived at the eſtate Beekſlied, as my negroes had made extraordinary diſpatch, *fumming wattra* * all the time to encourage each other.

On the 3d I arrived at the fortreſs Amſterdam, where I was entertained with an excellent fiſh dinner, and where I muſt again intreat the reader's patience, while I attempt to deſcribe the different ſpecies, *viz.* the *paſſary, prare-prare, provoſt,* and *curema.* The paſſary is above two feet long, and weighs ſometimes twenty pounds: the head is broad and flat; it has two long barbs, and no ſcales, and is very delicate eating. The prare-prare is about the ſame ſize, and equally good. The provoſt is large, often five feet, and of a yellowiſh colour; the fleſh of this is leſs agreeable, but the oil it produces comes to good account. As for the curema, this is a ſpecies of mullet, ſometimes above two feet in length, with large ſilvery eyes, and the under jaw longer than the upper. Near this place are alſo found a kind of *ſea-ſnails,* of which Madam Merian makes mention; and the fore-part of which exactly reſembles thoſe of a ſhrimp.

In the evening at ſix o'clock I arrived once more at Paramaribo, and found Joanna with her little boy per-

* That is, one of the rowers beating the water with his oar at every ſtroke, in ſuch a manner that it ſounds different from the reſt, to which the others ſing a chorus.

fectly

fectly well, after having both been blind for above three weeks; with whom being now invited to lodge, at the house of my friend Mr. De Graaf, I was completely happy.

The following day I dined with Colonel Fourgeoud, who now also was as sound as ever, and who gave me a very indifferent meal of salt provisions *, but an *uncommonly* hearty welcome. He acquainted me that two new companies of free mulattoes, and two of free negroes, all volunteers, had just been raised; that the Serameca and Owca negroes encouraged and favoured the rebels, and were deceitful rascals; that a few rebels had been killed in the Cassiwinica Creek; and that he was in hopes of rooting out *Fissy Hollo*; that *Bonny*, with his people, were almost starving in the forest, notwithstanding their late depredations, which could not last much longer; and that he was fully determined, if he should lose his last man, to make *this* rebel surrender, or harass him till he and his gang, through hunger and distress, should be obliged to quit the colony. I learned further from him, that a Frenchman had just escaped hanging for betraying the state of the fortifications, &c. to the governor of Cayenne; that he had pardoned Captain Tulling for his clandestine marriage; and that Lieutenant Colonel de Borgnes was just entered into matrimony with a rich widow, a Mrs. Crawford.

* This he absolutely held as the best regimen for health, notwithstanding he had brought three cooks from Europe.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Colonel, in a word, was now quite the reverſe of what he had been before, and upon the whole ſo very agreeable in his manners, that I would never wiſh to ſpend my time in better company; but how I ſhould become at once the favourite of both theſe rival commanders, was a ſecret I could never yet diſcover, unleſs it might proceed from a deſire of gaining me from each other, as they ſtill continued mutual enemies: be that as it may, I reſolved to preſerve the moſt inflexible neutrality, as I alſo did between them and the governor, where I was invited next day, and dined not on ſalt-beef, but found as uſual a truly magnificent entertainment.

Thus I continued daily viſiting my friends, *viz.* Mrs. Godefroy, the Demellys, the Gordons, the Mac Neyls, &c. I alſo ſpent a very agreeable day with the black Mrs. Sampſon, or Zubly, who was now a widow.

I was preſent too at a mulatto ball, compoſed however not of ſlaves, but of free independant ſettlers. Here the muſic, the lights, the country dances, the ſupper, and, above all, the dreſſes were ſo ſuperb, and their behaviour ſo decent and genteel, that the whole might ſerve as a model for decorum and etiquette to ſome of the fairer and more poliſhed inhabitants.

On the 20th, obſerving a number of Indians and black people of both ſexes ſwimming at the back of Fort Zelandia, young Donald Mac Neyl and myſelf compleated the groupe, by ſtripping and getting in among them; and I muſt confeſs I never beheld more ſurpriſing feats of

CHAP. XXIV.

of activity in the water, than were performed by the negroes, who fought a *ſham battle*, by plunging or rather tumbling like porpoiſes, when they ſtruck each other with their legs, as they never uſed their hands; while the Indians, who were of the *Arrowouka* nation, ſwam and dived like amphibious animals.

Being ſufficiently refreſhed, we ſat down upon the beach, near the twenty-one gun battery, where I had an opportunity of examining the features and figure of one of their young females, as ſhe approached us, like Venus riſing out of the ſea. Theſe people being very different from all the other Indian nations that I have already deſcribed, I ſhall embrace the opportunity of fulfilling my promiſe, and giving a particular account of them.—In the firſt place, the ſkin of the young woman who was now emerging clean from the river, and diveſted of arnotta-paint, appeared much fairer than the copper-colour of the other Indians; neither were her limbs deformed by thoſe ſtrait-laced bracelets or cotton-bands ſo much in uſe with the reſt; nor did her hair hang down, but was neatly plaited cloſe round the crown of her head, and faſtened in the centre with a broad ſilver plate *. Her only dreſs conſiſted, both during the time ſhe bathed and after, of a ſmall ſquare apron made of beads, as I have mentioned before: in every other reſpect ſhe was perfectly naked: nor could a finer figure be imagined—

* This, at other times, they ſupply by a ſhell, a fiſh-bone, or the tooth of a tiger, &c.

CHAP. XXIV.

erect, vigorous, active, young, and healthy, which convinced me that when the body is exposed, as it certainly was ordained by nature, the face is but little noticed.

> "———————— Such as Arcadian song
> "Transmits from ancient uncorrupted Time;
> "When tyrant Custom had not shackled Man,
> "But free to follow *Nature* was the mode."

In her features was displayed that beautiful simplicity, that native unsuspecting innocence, which cannot be put on where there is the slightest consciousness of guilt. Nor is the olive-colour incompatible with beauty, it is certainly the standard complexion of the human race, while the black and white are supposed to be only gradations, produced probably by the extremes of heat and cold. As this Indian girl was perfectly handsome, so she seemed to be perfectly happy.—"Happiness," as the Abbe Reynal wisely observes, "is more frequently found in a pure state "of nature, than in that of the most refined civilization." To be sure an European woman would blush to her fingers ends at the very idea of appearing publicly stark naked; but education and prejudice are every thing, since it is an axiom, that where there is no feeling of self-reproach, there can assuredly be no shame.

I remember to have seen an Indian youth, whose name was *Weekee*, at Bergen-op-Zoom, where he was brought over from the colony Berbicè with General *Desalve*, who cloathed and partly civilized him: amongst other things, he

Benedetti Sculp.

Indian Female of the Arrowauka Nation.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1792, by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

he learned cookery, and to be ſomething of a taylor, at his own requeſt, that he might be enabled to provide both for his back and his belly. After ſome time however, expreſſing a deſire to return to the colony, he no ſooner touched American ground, than ſtripping himſelf of his lumber, he launched naked into his native woods, where he ended his days as he had begun them, amongſt his beloved countrymen and companions; like the Hottentot mentioned by Rouſſeau, in his celebrated *Diſcours ſur l'Inegalité & Conditions, &c.*——But to return to the girl:—She had with her a live parrot, which ſhe had ſtunned with a blunt arrow from her bow, and for which I gave her a double-bladed knife *. So wonderfully expert are the Arrowouka Indians at this exerciſe, that they frequently bring down a macaw in full flight, or even a pigeon.

I cannot conclude theſe remarks without adding a few words concerning the unſpotted moral character of theſe people, who not only live in peace with moſt of the other Indian nations, but are peculiarly attached to the Europeans, while theſe in return profeſs for them the ſtrongeſt eſteem.

* The general traffick carried on between all the Indian nations and the Europeans conſiſts in balſam-capivi, arroco-cerra, oil of carrabba, arnotta, and bees-wax, beſides pieces of Brazil and ebony; the roots hiaree and varnillas, canoes, hammocks, ſlaves, monkies, parrots, and paroquets; for which they receive fire-arms, knives, hatchets, fiſh-hooks, combs, coral and glaſs beads, blue cotton, looking-glaſſes, &c.

CHAP. XXIV.

As a proof of their gratitude, I will only relate one inſtance:—Some years ago an Indian woman being at Paramaribo, and far advanced in a ſtate of pregnancy, a Mr. *Van der Mey* humanely ordered his ſervants to conduct her and her huſband into his houſe, where, giving them a private apartment, and every other conveniency, he wiſhed them good-night. Before the next morning the woman was delivered; but when the ſervants went in to renew their offers of friendſhip, neither man, wife, nor child were to be found, as they had before day-break quietly marched into the foreſt *. Various were at this time the conjectures concerning the boaſted *integrity* of the *Arrowouka* Indians, until, no leſs than eighteen months after, the ſame Indian returned to Mr. Van der Mey, with a charming captive boy of the *Accawau* nation, that he had taken in battle †; and whom preſenting to his benefactor, he only ſaid, "*That's yours,*" and without waiting for any anſwer diſappeared.—For this ſlave the above gentleman was offered £. 200, which he refuſed, and treated him as well as if he had been free.

The education theſe people receive in their infancy being according to the dictates only of ſimple nature, their minds or their bodies are very ſeldom deformed, while a too nice attention to either is poſſibly as detrimental as a total neglect. The ingenious Dr. Bancroft is

* I have mentioned before that the Indians are exempt from pain in labour.

† This is however extremely uncommon, as a more peaceable people does not exiſt in the univerſe.

CHAP. XXIV.

of the ſame opinion, which he ſupports (I think needleſsly) by a quotation from Quintilian.

Though the Arrowouka Indians live in perfect friendſhip and harmony with us, and indeed with moſt of their neighbours, they yet ſometimes go to war when provoked, as I have juſt obſerved; in theſe combats they uſe bows and arrows, and the club called *abowtow**; but they do not eat their priſoners like the Caribbee Indians, who even devoured the negroes whom they killed at the inſurrection in Berbicè. Notwithſtanding theſe people live at a greater diſtance from the ſea than the *Warrows*, &c. yet they have canoes, ſometimes fourſcore feet in length, in which they paddle down the rivers, The Arrowouka Indians particularly are great herbaliſts, and for all external accidents have recourſe to ſimples, with which the woods of all Terra Firma abound.—— But to proceed:

On the 25th I was ſeized with a fever, and blooded in the foot, in which the orifice being *ſtruck* too deep, for ſtruck it was as they bleed the horſes, I again became lame; during which time Colonel Seyburg arrived from the Java Creek to recover, he being at laſt alſo taken very ill.

In the mean time Colonel Fourgeoud, while he was juſt ready to renew his operations, having already ſent a ſmall detachment to the Jew Savannah for intelligence, received letters from the Hague, with expreſs orders to

* The New Zealanders call their clubs *pato-pato*; which affinity is remarkable, on account of their very great diſtance.

CHAP. XXIV.

abandon the expedition immediately, and with his few remaining troops to ſail for Holland without delay.

In conſequence of theſe commands on the 27th, the tranſport ſhips were put in commiſſion, and all the officers and privates received their clearance, which made them very happy; and indeed all at Paramaribo were alive with joy, except ſome of the inhabitants and myſelf.

On the 14th of February, ill as I was with a bad foot, a ſore arm, the prickly heat, and all my teeth looſe with the ſcurvy, I found means to ſcramble out on crutches, with a thouſand florins in my pocket, which having divided between Fourgeoud and Mrs. Godefroy for the redemption of the black boy *Quaco*, and my *mulatto*, I returned home without a ſhilling in my purſe; yet for this ſmall ſum of 500 florins, ſo inadequate to 1800 which I owed that lady, ſhe was induced generouſly to renew her perſuaſions of carrying Joanna and the boy with me to Holland. This, however, Joanna as nobly as firmly refuſed, declaring, "that, independant of all other conſi-"derations, ſhe could never think of ſacrificing one be-"nefactor to the intereſt of another; and that her own "happineſs or even mine, which was dearer to her than "life, ſhould never have any weight, till the debt of her "liberty was paid by me, or by her own induſtry, to the "utmoſt fraction, and which ſhe did not deſpair to ſee "one day compleated." She added, "our ſeparation "ſhould only be for a time, and that the greateſt proof I "could ever ſhew her of my real eſteem, was now to un-"dergo this little trial of fortune like a man, without

"so much as heaving a sigh in her presence;" which last she spoke with a smile, next embraced her infant, then turned suddenly round, and wept most bitterly.—At this moment I was called to Mr. *de la Mare*'s, who was just dead, where my melancholy having surpassed all description, I at last determined to weather one or two painful years in her absence; and in the afternoon went to dissipate my mind at a Mr. *Roux*'s cabinet of Indian curiosities; where, as my eye chanced to fall on a rattle-snake, I will before I leave the colony describe this dangerous reptile.

The *rattle-snake* of Surinam is sometimes eight or nine feet long, and very thick about the middle, tapering towards the neck and tail. The head is dreadfully deformed, being flat and broad, with two large nostrils near the snout, and a large scale or knob like the alligator above his eyes, which are jet-black and sparkling; at the extremity of the tail are several thin horny shells joined together, which are very dry, and which, when irritated, the animal shakes, sounding much like a *rattle*, from which it derives its name. These shells augment, *it is said*, in the proportion of one every year, by which it is supposed its age may be ascertained. This whole snake is covered over with scales, which on the ridge of the back it erects. The colour is a dirty orange mixed with dark-brown and black spots, which last are also on its head, appearing like velvet, and marked in a very conspicuous manner; the belly is ash-coloured, with transverse

CHAP. XXIV.

ſcales like moſt other ſerpents. When this animal is intent on miſchief, it lies coiled like a rope, with the tail a little in motion, which having rattled, it launches forth upon its prey, making no farther reach than its own length; this done, it coils a ſecond time, and again projects itſelf. The bite of the rattle-ſnake is accounted fatal, at leaſt is thought very dangerous over all America; but with regard to the faſcinating qualities of its eyes, ſuch as the ſtory of its cauſing mice, ſquirrels, and birds to run into its mouth, I reject them as fables; the ſuppoſed charm conſiſting in nothing more than this, that the poor animals, finding themſelves ſurprized by the impending danger, are ſeized with ſuch a trepidation and fear, that even the uſe of their limbs forſakes them, and they are rivetted to the place till they die, or in the act of leaping they are ſeized by their enemy *.

In this cabinet I alſo ſaw the *blue dipſas* of Surinam, which had almoſt the colour of ultramarine on the back; its ſides were lighter, and the belly nearly white. I did not learn that the bite of this reptile was fatal, but that it occaſions immoderate thirſt in the patient, from which it took its name; the word *dipſa* ſignifying thirſt in the Greek language. Another ſnake I alſo obſerved here, about three feet long, being annulated with different colours, and called *amphiſbœna*, from the ſuppoſition of its having two heads; but the truth is, that from its cylindrical

* See a letter to the editors of the New Univerſal Magazine for October 1787.

form

The Green Butterfly of South America.

The Rattle Snake & Dypsas of Guiana.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson, S.t Paul's Church Yard.

form the head and tail ſo much reſemble each other, that the error is almoſt pardonable; beſides which, the eyes are nearly imperceptible. This is the ſnake which, being ſuppoſed blind, and vulgarly ſaid to be fed by the large ants already deſcribed, is in this country honoured with the name of King of the Emmets *.

Amongſt Mr. Roux's numerous collection of fine butterflies, one of a middle ſize I thought peculiarly beautiful; all its wings, both above and below, being elegantly ſtreaked with tranſverſe bars of velvet, black, and a variegated bright green. The amazing height to which they aſcend, and the great velocity with which theſe inſects fly, make them ſo rare, being, for theſe reaſons, but very ſeldom caught. The caterpillar is a ſea-green, and all covered over with hard feelers, not unlike feathers.—For a better idea of the above ſnakes, and this fly, ſee the plate annexed, where the laſt was improved from Madam Merian's collection.

I have juſt ſaid that we were ordered to leave the colony, and that all were overjoyed with the news, myſelf excepted. But on the 15th, by letters from Holland to our chief, our *return* was again countermanded for ſix months. My companions were therefore ſuddenly caſt down with diſappointment, while I was as ſuddenly revived, and now determined to ſave all my pay until Joanna's redemption ſhould be fully accompliſhed: but what

* How Madam Merian ſhould call this reptile an *oviparous viper*, ſurpaſſes my comprehenſion.

grieved

CHAP. XXIV.

grieved me very much was the other news from Europe, *viz.* that the *Scots Brigade* had been invited to England by his Britannic Majeſty, while I was lamenting that I could not poſſibly be one of the number*. I at the ſame time had the offer of an American company under General Waſhington, but this I refuſed without any heſitation, as may be ſuppoſed.

In ſhort, on the 18th of February, the poor diſpirited men were again ſent up to Magdenburg, a large party ſtill remaining at the Java Creek; whilſt the temper of the officers was now ſo ruffled, that a Mr. *Fiſher* of our corps fought no leſs than *two* duels in two ſucceeding days, dangerouſly wounding both his antagoniſts, who were both officers of the Society regiment.

As I was not yet recovered, I ſtaid ſome time longer at Paramaribo, where at the houſe of a Mr. Reynſdorp, I ſaw a Portugueſe *Jew* teaching his children the *Chriſtian* religion, while the pious mother of the charity-houſe kept flogging the poor ſlaves daily, becauſe they were, as ſhe ſaid, unbelievers. To one black woman, in particular, ſhe wantonly gave four hundred laſhes, who bore them without a complaint.

But to change the diſagreeable ſubject;—while I have the leiſure and the opportunity, I feel the inclination to ſtate to the public a ſhort account of the trade and intrinſic value of this blood-ſpilling colony; which ſtill

* The King's demand was negatived by the States of Holland.

might

CHAP. XXIV.

might be richer, did they not follow the example of the woman in the fable with her golden eggs.

In the firſt place, in Surinam are computed to be about ſix or eight hundred plantations, producing ſugar, coffee, cacao, and cotton, beſides ſome indigo, and valuable timbers, &c.—The exportation of which four firſt articles only, and their value, may be ſeen at one view in the following table for four ſucceſſive years.

The Years.	Barrels of SUGAR.	lbs. of COFFEE.	lbs. of CACAO.	lbs. of COTTON.
1771	19,494	11,135,132	416,821	203,945
1772	19,260	12,267,134	354,935	90,035
1773	15,741	15,427,298	332,229	135,047
1774	15,111	11,016,518	506,610	105,126
Total -	69,606	49,846,082	1,610,595	534,153

69,606 barrels of ſugar, at 60 florins *per* barrel, make - - - -	*f.* 4,176,360	—	—
49,846,082 lbs. of coffee, at 8½ *d. per* lb. make -	21,184,584	17	—
1,610,595 lbs. of cacao, at 6½ *d. per* lb. make -	523,443	7	8
534,153 lbs. of cotton, at 8 *d. per* lb. make -	212,661	4	—
Sum total - -	*f.* 26,097,049	8	8
Which makes in one year exactly - -	*f.* 6,524,262	7	2
But this average produce was ſhipped off for the town of Amſterdam only.			
Carried forward - -	*f.* 6,524,262	7	2

If

CHAP. XXIV.

Brought forward - -	*f.* 6,524,262 7 2
If I now add what goes to Rotterdam and to Zealand, besides the home consumption, and the return of the rum and molasses, the indigo at 4*f.* *per* lb. and the timber from 5 *d.* to five florins *per* cubic foot, it will amount to as much more - - - - -	6,524,262 7 2
Thus altogether - -	*f.* 13,048,524 14 4

Which, supposing it was but 11,000,000 *f.* makes a yearly income of *one million* neat in sterling money.

How the above sum is divided between the republic of Holland and this colony, shall be my business to state in the second place.

The town of Amsterdam affords about fifty ships, at an average of 400 tons burthen each, which receive, for importation freight of various commodities, the sum of - - -	*f.* 6,000	
For exportation freight of the above productions, which grow in the colony * - - - -	32,000	
Thus each vessel gets for freight -	*f.* 38,000	
Which, multiplied by the N° of vessels	50	
Makes exactly - - -		*f.* 1,900,000 — —
For Rotterdam and Zealand I calculate together about 30 vessels more of different burdens: thus - - - -		1,200,000 — —
Carried forward - -		*f.* 3,100,000 — —

* Sugar pays about 3 *l.* *per* barrel, and coffee about as much *per* thousand; other commodities in proportion.—*N. B.* This I insert unauthenticated, thus errors excepted.

And

CHAP. XXIV.

Brought forward - -		f. 3,100,000 — —
And for the brick that ferves for ballaft, paffengers, &c. - - - -		80,000 — —
Each Guinea fhip, importing yearly from 250 to 300 negroes, loweft value, at - - - -	f. 120,000	
Thus fuppofing the number of veffels*	6	
Amounts to - - -		720,000 — —
To all thefe I fhall add the merchandize imported from Holland, fuch as wine, fpirits, beer, falt-beef, pork, and flour, filk, cotton, and linen-manufactures; cloaths, hats, fhoes; gold, filver, and fteel ornaments; arms and ammunition; even mafons and carpenters tools, &c. &c. at an average of about 50 *per cent.* profit. Befides correfpondents charges, infurance, duty, ftore-houfe expences, porters fees, wharfage, and package, which laft articles coft the inhabitants ten *per cent.* more.		
Thus altogether - - -		1,100,000 — —
Which makes already the fum of - -		f. 5,000,000 — —
Still let me mention the intereft of 6 *per cent.* for the national debt of five millions fterling, due by the colony, and what they are defrauded of by ufurers in Holland, where prodigious other charges are brought in; and where thofe who have made their fortunes go to fpend it; and the amount will be found to produce at leaft - - - - -		1,000,000 — —
The whole of which items added together, produce no lefs a fum yearly than - -		f. 6,000,000 — —

* There are fome years but four, and fome ten, &c.

Which

CHAP. XXIV.

Brought forward - -	f. 6,000,000 — —
Which is clear profit to the republic, *viz.* principally for Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Zealand. Thus the inhabitants of Surinam get, for their share of the above treasure, only -	5,000,000 — —
Which make together, as I said, one million sterling, or - - - - -	f. 11,000,000 — —

In the third place, I shall now show in what manner the internal expence of the society of Surinam is defrayed by taxes; which amount to no trifle, as shall be seen.

Having already mentioned, when speaking of the government, that the public revenue officers were five in number, I will now point out how they collect the cash respectively each, for the support of the above expences.

The first of these is that of Importation and Exportation Duties.

To this is paid, *viz.*

By all Dutch vessels, 3 *f. per* ton; By Americans, &c. 6 *f. per* ton	thus for tonnage, *f.* 90,000	
By Americans, &c. for all imports and exports, 5 *per cent.*	- - 60,000	
Sugar pays 1 *f. per* thousand or barrel - - - -; Coffee 15 *d. per* 100 lb. weight; Cacao 1 *f.* 15 *d. per* 100 lb. D°; Cotton - - -	in 1771 paid 260,000	*f.* 410,000 — —
Thus receives yearly about the sum of -		*f.* 410,000 — —

The

CHAP. XXIV.

Brought forward - -		*f.* 410,000 — —
The second is the office of excise and small duties.		
To this is paid, *viz.*		
For a barrel of beer - -	*f.* 3 — —	
A D° of claret - - -	12 — —	
A pipe of madeira - -	23 10 —	
All wines, *per* quart bottle - -	— — 1	
The tax on publicans, is - -	600 — —	
D° on small retailers - -	300 — —	
And which amounts to a yearly produce of at least - - - - -		100,000 — —
Then follows thirdly the office for taxation on heads; which receives for all inhabitants, black and white, without exception, *viz.*		
For men and women - - *f.* 2 10 / For boys and girls under 12, *f.* 1 5	this produces yearly -	150,000 — —
Next comes the office for sales and slaves, which gets, *viz.*		
For selling dead stock, including estates, &c. 5 *per cent.* - - / For selling newly-arrived or imported negro slaves, 2½ *per cent.*	thus,	130,000 — —
And finally, the office for re-taking negro deserters, which was then erected, the other taxes not being sufficient; which produces yearly, *viz.*		
By an additional tax on heads, black and white, at 1 *f.* is - -	80,000	
By 4 *per cent.* of every profit got during the year upon oath, is - -	400,000	
Which makes exactly - - - - -		480,000 — —
Carried forward - -		*f.* 1,270,000 — —

Still

CHAP. XXIV.

Brought forward - -		*f.* 1,270,000 — —
'Still let me not forget what is yearly paid for what is called the support of the common or grass fields, *viz.*		
For a house, according to its size.		
For a coach - - - -	20 — —	
For a whiskey - - -	10 — —	
For a saddle-horse - - - -	10 — —	
Which add to the above impositions again -		12,000 — —
And these, if summed together, make a yearly revenue of no less than - - - -		*f.* 1,282,000 — —

Having now clearly demonstrated, partly by the assistance of Dr. Fermyn's *Tableau de la Colonie de Surinam*, and partly by my own experience, that the intrinsic value of this settlement is worth yearly above *one million* of sterling money, which, by proper management, might be still increased; also that the greater part of it goes to the republic, while the people are thus burthened on their estates by almost insupportable taxation, which induces many to be rogues, who would perhaps otherwise be honest; I shall, by way of appendix, give some short account of the trade carried on in this colony by the *North Americans*: — These people arrive with small brigs, sloops, and schooners from Virginia, Rhode Island, New York, Boston, Jamaica, Grenada, Antigua, Barbadoes, &c. from which places they export flour, beef, pork, herrings, salt, mackarel, and leaf-tobacco for the negroes; also fir-boards, English rum, and other spirits; loaf-sugar,

gar*, ſpermaceti-candles, onions, &c. Beſides each veſſel is bound to bring in one horſe †, which they often ſupply by a head only; affirming, that they put on board a horſe, but that he died on the paſſage. For the above commodities the American traders export all the melaſſes of this colony to diſtil into rum at home, and frequently ſhip-loads of other productions and merchandize, though this is done in a clandeſtine manner, by which both the ſeller and buyer are conſiderable gainers, being ready caſh for the one, and a cheap bargain for the other. From the Leeward Iſlands theſe veſſels alſo import private mulatto and quaderoon ſlaves, which being generally young and handſome, whatever may be their moral character, ſell for conſiderable prices.

Having thus ſhewn, according to the beſt information I was able to acquire, in what the commerce and intrinſic wealth of this fine colony conſiſt; I will now take my leave of the ſubject, and continue my narrative.

On the 21ſt of February, Mr. *Reynſdorp*, the ſon-in-law of Mrs. Godefroy, took me in his ſail barge for change of air to *Nuten-Schadelyk*, one of his own coffee eſtates; where I ſaw a white man who had lately loſt both his eyes in one night by the bats or vampires, as they are called; and the following day, ſailing up Comewina River, we proceeded to the delightful *Cacao* plan-

* I have ſaid they can make no rum here; neither do they refine ſugar.

† Mr. Hartzink mentions four horſes, but this is a miſtake.

CHAP. XXIV.

tation *Alkmaar*, the property of the above lady; where the negro ſlaves are treated like children by the miſtreſs, to whom they all look up as to their common parent.—Here were no groans to be heard, no fetters to be met with, nor any marks of ſeverity to be ſeen—but all was harmony and content. The ſuperb houſe and other offices of this charming eſtate, where pleaſure and hoſpitality ever reign, I have already repreſented in plate N° X.; while the fields and gardens, nay, even the negro houſes, bore all the marks of perfect peace and plenty.

The *cacao-trees* are ſupplied from nurſeries for the purpoſe, like orchards in England, and planted very regularly at ten or twelve feet diſtance from each other, where they grow to the height of our Engliſh cherry-trees. But theſe plantations muſt be well ſheltered, both from the hard winds and ſcorching ſun, when young; the roots not entering deep into the ground to ſuccour them, nor can they at that time bear extraordinary heat; on which account the groves are filled up with caſſava-ſhrubs or plantain-trees for their ſhelter, and which at the ſame time anſwer the purpoſe of killing the weeds, which grow ſo luxuriantly in all the tropical climates;—by theſe attentions the trees will bear fruit before they are three years old, when they afford two crops annually, but they are in the higheſt perfection at the age of twelve or fourteen. The leaf of the cacao-tree is above eight inches long, and nearly three broad, thick-pointed, ribbed like the laurel-time, and of a bright green-colour.

The

CHAP. XXIV.

The fruit is about the ſame ſize, and when young reſembles a cucumber; but when ripe it becomes yellow like a large lemon, with ribs like the melon, and tubercles which encloſe the ſeed or nuts, near thirty in number: they lie longitudinally in the fruit, and when fit for uſe are of the ſize of olives, and purple-coloured. The trees are ſuppoſed to bear at each crop from thirty to three hundred pods, each containing about thirty nuts, weighing one pound, from which a calculation may be made how much will be the produce of each harveſt. After a few days the nuts are extracted from the pods, and dried in the ſhade; during which time they undergo a very ſtrong perſpiration, when they are put into barrels and fit for tranſportation, to be converted into that well-known and agreeable beverage called Chocolate.

It is ſaid the cacao-trees are natives of Guiana, and grow wild in large quantities near the river Amazon: be that as it may, Governor *Chatillon*'s ſon planted the firſt tree in Surinam in 1684, and the firſt crop was exported to Holland in 1733. A great advantage in cultivating cacao-trees is, that fewer ſlaves are required than in any other branch of the planting buſineſs. How conſiderable are the profits will appear by the accounts of the year 1774, when 506,610 lbs. were exported to Amſterdam alone, which produced 202,614 *f.* Dutch money, being equal to £. 18,419 ſterling. The prices have been fluctuating from 4 *d.* to 9 *d.* *per* lb. the average being

 about

CHAP. XXIV.

about 6½*d*. The beſt eſtates, of which *Alkmaar* is one, produce yearly above 80,000 lbs. weight.

In the plate annexed, *A* is the leaf above, *B* below*; *C*, the wood; *D*, the flower; *E*, the young pulp; *F*, the ſame in perfection; and *G*, the ſeeds or nuts to make the chocolate.

On the 27th we returned to town, where the day before a Society ſoldier was ſhot for mutiny; and the day following a ſhip was burnt in the roads. At this time the celebrated free negro Qwaſi, who was the prophet, prieſt, and king of the rangers, &c. went to Holland on a viſit to the Prince of Orange, with letters of recommendation from Fourgeoud, whoſe praiſes he was to reſound, as well as to complain of the Governor for not treating him with due reſpect. This being the period for the ſeſſions, another negro's leg was cut off for ſculking from a taſk to which he was unequal; while two more were condemned to be hanged for running away altogether. The heroic behaviour of one of theſe men before the court deſerves particularly to be noticed:—He begged only to be heard for a few moments; which being granted, he proceeded thus:

"I was born in Africa, where, defending my prince "during an engagement, I was made a captive, and ſold "for a ſlave on the coaſt of Guinea by *my own* country-

* Drs. Bancroft and Brooke ſay, the leaf is light above and dark below, which in my original drawing is quite the reverſe.

"men.

Sprig of the Cocao, or Chocolate Tree.

London. Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson. St Paul's Church Yard.

" men.—One of your countrymen, who is now to be one " of my judges, became my purchaſer, in whoſe ſervice " I was treated ſo cruelly by his *overſeer*, that I deſerted, " and joined the rebels in the woods.—Here again I was " condemned to be a ſlave to *Bonny*, their chief, who treat- " ed me with even more ſeverity than I had experienced " from the Europeans, till I was once more forced to elope, " determined to ſhun mankind for ever, and inoffenſively " to end my days by myſelf in the foreſt. Two years " had I perſevered in this manner quite alone, undergoing " the greateſt hardſhips and anxiety of mind, preſerving " life only for the poſſibility of once more ſeeing my " dear family, who were perhaps ſtarving on my account, " in my own country; I ſay two miſerable years had juſt " elapſed, when I was diſcovered by the rangers, taken, " and brought before this tribunal, who are now ac- " quainted with the hiſtory of my wretched life, and " from whom the only favour I have to aſk is, that I " may be executed *next Saturday*, or as ſoon as it may " poſſibly be convenient."

This ſpeech was uttered with the utmoſt moderation, by one of the fineſt-looking negroes that was perhaps ever ſeen; to which his former maſter, who, as he obſerved, was now one of the judges, made the following laconic reply—" Raſcal! that is not what we want to " know; but the *torture* this moment ſhall make you " confeſs crimes as black as yourſelf, as well as thoſe of " your hateful accomplices." To which the negro, who

CHAP. XXIV.

now ſwelled in every vein with indignation and ineffable contempt: "Maſſera, the tigers have trembled for theſe "hands," holding them up; "and dare you think to "threaten me with your wretched inſtrument? No, I "deſpiſe the utmoſt tortures you can now invent, as "much as I do the pitiful wretch who is going to in- "flict them." Saying which, he threw himſelf down on the rack, where amidſt the moſt excruciating torments he remained with a ſmile, without uttering a ſyllable; nor did he ever ſpeak again, until he ended his unhappy days at the gallows.

What good man can "reflect the tear-ſtain'd eye,
"When blood atteſts even ſlaves for freedom die?
"On cruel gibbets, high diſclos'd they reſt,
"And ſcarce one groan eſcapes one bloated breaſt,
"Here ſable *Cæſars** feel the Chriſtian rod,
"There Afric *Platos*, tortur'd hope a God,
"While jetty *Brutus* for his country ſighs,
"And ſooty *Cato* with his freedom dies!"

Having dined with Colonel Fourgeoud on the 8th of March, when we celebrated the Prince of Orange's birth-day, while Mr. Reyndorp gave a treat to all the ſoldiers, he acquainted me that the rangers were now alone encamped at the Wana Creek; that the peſtilential ſpot *Devil's Har-war* was at laſt entirely forſaken; and that the two lately

* The above names, with ſuch as *Nero*, *Pluto*, *Charon*, *Cerberus*, *Proſerpine*, *Meduſa*, &c. are uſually given to negro ſlaves, in exchange for *Quacoo*, *Quacy*, *Quamy*, *Quamina*, *Quaſiba*, *Adjuba*, &c.

raiſed companies of ſable volunteers had taken a few priſoners, and killed others on the *Wanica path*, behind Paramaribo. I was at this time a good deal better, but ſtill, not being quite recovered, he who had formerly treated me ſo ſeverely, now even inſiſted on my ſtaying ſome longer time at Paramaribo: nay, gave me an offer to return to Europe, which I abſolutely refuſed; in ſhort, about the middle of the month, I was as well as ever I was in my life. At this time Colonel Fourgeoud and myſelf were daily viſitors of the ladies, in whoſe company no man could behave better, while I could often not avoid diſguſt; indeed ſo languid were many in their looks, and ſo unreſtrained were ſome in their converſation, that a Mrs. *N*—— even aſked me, *ſans ceremonie*, to ſupply the place of her huſband; while ſhe might as well have aſked me to drink, for a reliſh, a tumbler of ſalts.

On the 17th, however, my eyes were better feaſted, when, going to dine with Colonel Texier of the Society troops, I firſt took a walk in the orange grove and the governor's gardens; here, peeping through the foliage, I ſoon diſcovered two moſt elegant female figures after bathing, the one a fine young *Samboo*, the other a *blooming Quaderoon*, which laſt was ſo very fair complexioned, that ſhe might have paſſed for a native of Greece, while the roſes that glowed in her cheek were equal to thoſe that bloſſomed in the ſhrubbery *. They were walking

* It is to be remarked, that though Europeans look pale under the torrid zone, the native inhabitants have often a freſhneſs peculiarly engaging, particularly mulattoes and quaderoons.

CHAP. XXIV.

hand in hand, and converſing with ſmiles near a flowery bank that adorned the ſide of a cryſtal brook, in which they plunged the inſtant they heard me ruſtling amongſt the verdure, like two *mermaids:*

" Then to the flood they ruſh'd; the parted flood
" Its lovely gueſts with cloſing waves receiv'd,
" And every beauty ſoft'ning, every grace
" Fluſhing anew, a mellow luſtre ſhed.

Leaving them to enjoy their innocent amuſement of bathing, I ſpent the remaining hour before dinner amongſt the ſhady fruit-trees, blooming bowers, and ſerpentine gravel walks; where indeed I ſaw greater variety of European plants than I imagined were produced in a tropical climate, ſuch as mint, fennel, ſage, roſemary, golden-rod and jeſſamine, the ſenſitive plant, pomegranates, roſes, figs, and even ſome grapes.—Of the pomegranate flowers, a ſpecimen may be ſeen in plate, N° XXIX. The figs are both within and without of a beautiful crimſon colour; but the roſes are rather pale. Here were ſome beautiful pine-apples and melons, which, though they are ſo generally known, I will nevertheleſs give ſome account of. The imperial fruit, called *Anana* or pine-apple grows in the centre of an elegant ſea-green plant, on a ſtalk of the ſame hue, about eight inches in length, its leaves diverging near the ſurface of the earth, which are ſmooth, long, ſtrong, pointed, and dentulated with hard prickles. The ſhape of this fruit is nearly oval, the ſize of a ſugar-loaf, all over chequered, and of

a moſt

a moſt beautiful orange or golden colour, being crowned with a ſea-green tuft, of the ſame leaves as the mother plant, and which when put in the ground produces another pine-apple in the ſpace of about eighteen months. The delicious taſte and flavour of this fruit has in the ſpace of half a century become ſo well known, that I have introduced it merely to notice its *plenty* in the country I write of; for ſo ſpontaneouſly indeed do the former grow in this climate, and of ſuch different kinds, without any cultivation, that on many eſtates they ſerve as a common food for hogs.

The *muſk* and *water melons* grow alſo plentifully in this country; the firſt is of a globular form, large, like the crown of a ſmall hat, ribbed, buff colour, orange and green. The pulp is yellow, firm, ſweet, and ſucculent; ſtill it is eaten with ſugar, but more frequently with black pepper and ſalt—the ſmell of this fruit is excellent.

The water-melon is of an oval or cylindrical ſhape, its colour is a bright poliſhed green, and partly a very pale buff; the pulp of this fruit is a pink colour, and of a mellow watery ſubſtance; its taſte is ſweet, exceedingly cooling, and of a moſt agreeable flavour.

Both the above melons are of the cucumber kind, growing on rough ſtalks, with large leaves, that creep along the ground. It is remarkable that the water-melon, which may be freely eaten in all diſtempers without the leaſt pernicious conſequence, thrives beſt in very dry and ſandy

places.

CHAP. XXIV.

places.—In the annexed plate may be ſeen the *Anana* or pine-apple, with the muſk and water-melon, beſides the ſeed from which this laſt is produced.

I ſent about this period, to a Mr. Reygerſman in Holland, a moſt elegant collection of Surinam *butterflies*, which are here caught in great abundance and variety, and by which alone ſome people make no ſmall profit; but the very idea of pinning them alive to a ſheet of paper, was ſufficient to prevent me from becoming a fly-catcher:

> "Lo! the poor beetle that we tread upon——
> "Feels a like pang, as when a giant falls."

Now Captains Van Geurick and Fredericy, with Serjeant Fowler, were ſent on an embaſſy to the *Owca* and *Sarameca* free negroes, if poſſible to procure their aſſiſtance againſt the rebels, which they always continued to *promiſe* (while Colonel Fourgeoud gave them preſents) but never yet *performed*. A few of the other officers ſtill ſtayed with us *gallanting* at Paramaribo, amongſt whom were Major Medler and Captain Hemmet*, who had both been with General Deſalve's regiment, in the colony *Berbicè*, and previous to that the firſt was in the Pruſſian ſervice. It was no ſmall change of appearance

* The latter gentleman, in the year 1783, ſailed from the Texel to the Molucca iſlands; where, as commander in chief, he killed the king of Pongue, with his three ſons, and 600 men; and dethroned alſo the king of *Salangao*, whoſe land he captured for the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, beſides taking 127 pieces of cannon, &c.

for

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

A. Smith Sculp.

The Musk-Melon, Water-Melon & Pine Apple.

London, Published Dec. 1. 1791, by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard.

for us, who had ſo little a time before appeared like wild men, now to ſtrut through Paramaribo, dreſſed like ſo many *French marquees*.

Being a particular favourite of Governor Nepveu, I one day was induced to aſk him for a piece of *uncultivated* foreſt ground; when he readily granted me 400 acres: but when I inconſiderately aſked it of him, I had not calculated how large a capital it required to clear away woods, purchaſe negroes, and provide other neceſſaries for ſuch an undertaking; and when a little reflection convinced me how difficult it would be to find a partner of abilities to aſſiſt me, I declined accepting this mark of the governor's regard.

Having on the 26th once more ſaved a poor black girl from receiving ſome hundred laſhes, by replacing a dozen of china, which ſhe had broken by accident; while another was ſtabbed by a Frenchman, who immediately cut his own throat from remorſe, and his companion, an overſeer, hanged himſelf; and having viſited the poor negro whoſe leg had lately been cut off *by law*, I packed my boxes to ſet out next morning on my ſixth campaign; and once more take the command of the River Comewina: at which moment arrived at my lodgings ſix loaded negro ſlaves with preſents from my hoſpitable friends, of every kind that Guiana could produce, and the colony of Surinam could afford me.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Singular Method of detecting a Theft—Rencounter between the Rangers and Rebels—Amazonian Action of a black Girl—Wonderful Sagacity in wild Bees—The Regiment receives a second Order to return to Europe.

CHAP. XXV.

ON the 27th of March, 1776, adieu once more Paramaribo, my Joanna, and my boy!

This morning, a little before I sat out, I saw a Mr. *d'Halbergh* terribly bitten by a large iguana or lizard, at the very moment he was pressing me and my companions to stay a few days, to be present at the celebration of what he called his *Silver-feast*, being the twenty-fifth anniversary of his marriage; but after condoling with him upon account of the accident, we embarked in a tent-barge, and arrived that evening at the Sporksgift estate in Matapica. Here we were entertained two days by Captain Mac Neal, with the greatest hospitality. I was however nearly suffocated by the steam of some green coffee, which was spread on the floor of the lodge where I had flung my hammock.

Late on the evening of the 29th, we arrived at the *Gold-mine* plantation, where we found a negro boy and girl, suspended by each others side from a high beam, by a rope fastened to their *thumbs*, which were tied behind

their

their backs, this almoſt diſlocated their ſhoulders, and muſt have occaſioned the moſt agonizing tortures. Thus I cut the miſerable victims down, without leave or ceremony, and ſwore that inſtant to demoliſh the tyrannical overſeer who had inflicted this new mode of puniſhment, unleſs he promiſed immediately to forgive them; which he miraculouſly did in my preſence. CHAP. XXV.

On the 30th, a little before we landed at the Hope, I diſcovered that all my ſugar, with the greateſt part of my rum, was gone; and detected the thief by the following laughable ſtratagem (though not my own invention) —I told the negroes, ſix in number, that a parrot's feather was to grow within ſix minutes upon the tip of his noſe who was moſt guilty; at the ſame time pronouncing a few incoherent words, and making two or three circles with my ſabre, I ſhut myſelf within the tilt: here, peeping through the key-hole, and obſerving the rowers with great attention, without their perceiving me, I ſoon ſaw one of them, at every ſtroke of the oar, put up his hand, and feel the tip of his noſe; upon which I inſtantly ran up to him, and cried, "I ſee the parrot's feather! Thou "art the thief, thou raſcal!" To which the poor ſuperſtitious fellow inſtantly anſwered, "*Yaw, me maſſera!*" then kneeling to the *ſorcerer* for mercy, and the others alſo intreating me to ſpare him, I pardoned the credulous thief and his accomplices, who by their candid confeſſion obtained a piece of ſalt beef for their dinner, and a gourd full of good grog in the bargain.

CHAP. XXV.

Immediately on my arrival I took the command of the whole river, and now was once more the Prince of Comewina. I alſo built an elevated *palace*, in imitation of *Prince Bonny*'s at Boofy-Cry, on twelve ſtrong ſtakes; which aerial habitation I found very neceſſary, the whole poſt being almoſt under water by the inundations, and by neglect become a perfect mire-pool, while of my former cottage not a veſtige was to be ſeen. Here I found the marines in perfect miſery, being almoſt naked, and having ſold their very ſhoes for a mouthful of freſh proviſions. Theſe grievances, however, by my labour and interceſſion with Colonel Fourgeoud, whoſe favourite I now became more and more, were ſpeedily redreſſed, and the Hope, in a little time, appeared like a paradiſe, when compared with its former ſtate.

Shooting was now, as formerly, my favourite diverſion; and on the 4th I brought home a kind of *plover*, a couple of *red-breaſts*, and near a dozen *graſs-ſparrows*.

The plover of Guiana is the ſize of a pigeon, its colour a dark-brown and white, with tranſverſe bars. The wet ſavannahs are full of them, and they are delicate eating. The red-breaſt is a kind of large bull-finch, with the upper part of its body a deep cheſnut; and all the reſt a blood-colour: this is reckoned as good as an ortolan, and abounds on all the plantations. The graſs-ſparrow, which I think is by ſome called the *anaca*, is a beautiful little creature, like a paroquet; theſe birds are perfectly green, with a white bill and red eyes. They do

much damage amongſt the rice and Indian corn, flying in prodigious flocks upon the plantations.

At the Hope the *trochulus*, or humming-birds, were ſo thick among the tamarind-trees, that they reſembled a ſwarm of bees; a Lieutenant *Swildens* daily fetching down ſeveral of them, by blowing ſmall peas or Indian corn through a hollow reed.

Of all the tropical birds, this little creature is particularly worth attention, not only on account of its beauty, but for its diminutive ſize, being ſmaller than the firſt joint of a man's finger; and when deprived of its feathers not larger than a blue-bottle fly. However, there are ſeveral ſpecies, and ſome twice as large. Theſe birds vary much in their colour: in the ſhade they appear generally of a deep ſhining green; which, by the reflection of the ſun, produces a ſplendid purple brown and azure. The head is creſted with a ſmall tuft of feathers, green, black, and gold; the tail and wings are a gloſſy black; the bill is not much thicker than a pin, it is long, black, and crooked at the end; the tongue is forked, and reſembles a red ſilk thread; with this they ſip the nectar or honey from the flowers, during which time they are ſtationary, exactly like bees, and this juice ſeems to be the only nouriſhment of theſe little creatures. They often make their neſt on the leaf of a wild pine-apple, or dwarf aloe, which is conſtructed moſtly of cotton, and not larger than the huſk of a walnut; their eggs are about the ſize of peas, and only two in number. Madam Merian ſays, that the hum-

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

CHAP. XXV. ming-bird ſits on *four* eggs; which, for my part, I never ſaw or heard of during my reſidence in Guiana.

In the annexed plate I have endeavoured to repreſent them and their little habitation in natural ſize; though I found it impoſſible to make the drawing more perfect, their motion upon the wing being ſo very quick, that the feathers are hardly perceptible; and this motion occaſions that humming noiſe, from which this delicate little creature derives its name.

Here were alſo immenſe flocks of monkies: I have ſeen above two hundred of them in a field of ſugar-canes, where they make great devaſtation. Theſe wary animals place ſentinels all round the field to give the alarm; and I myſelf have been a witneſs with what ſagacity and fidelity they perform this duty, when the whole company hop into the foreſt, each with his plunder in his paw.

Swimming was another of my favourite amuſements, which contributed to make me more healthy, and ſtronger than moſt of my companions; as it is beautifully expreſſed by the author of the *Seaſons*:—

"This is the pureſt exerciſe of health,
"The kind refreſher of the ſummer heats:
"——————— Hence the limbs
"Knit into force, and the ſame Roman arm
"That roſe victorious o'er the conquer'd earth,
"Firſt learn'd when tender to ſubdue the wave."

On the 14th I ſhot an alligator; but returning from this excurſion in a boat, a packet of letters from Colonel Fourgeoud

The Humming Bird, with its nest &c.

London, Published Decr. 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard.

Fourgeoud being reached me, unfortunately fell over-board into the water, and ſank immediately; ſome officers, however, the next day coming to the Hope, informed me of the principal contents, *viz.* that Colonel Fourgeoud, being determined once more to ſcour the woods, had ordered me to ſend up all my ſpare men and proviſions, as alſo the Society troops who were now at Oranjebo, the former to Magdenberg, and the latter to the river Pirica; which I performed, retaining only twelve crippled ſoldiers at the Hope, and as many at Clarenbeek, without either ſurgeon or medicines; nevertheleſs, with this ſmall number, I made daily patroles by land and water—they alſo informed me of the death of enſign *Van Halm*, and that another ſhip with ſick was ordered ſhortly to ſet ſail for Holland.

Colonel Fourgeoud, though he himſelf remained ſtill at Paramaribo, yet continued attentively to command. Thus, on the 23d, he ordered a detachment of one hundred men to reconnoitre from Magdenberg to the Wana Creek and Marawina river; but they returned without any new diſcoveries.

As I was now likely to be continued at the Hope for ſome time, I ſent for my ſheep and poultry, from the eſtate where I had left them, preſenting Mr. *Gourly* with a ram and a ewe, as being of a breed ſuperior to any in the colony; and I found with joy that my flocks had conſiderably encreaſed in numbers.

On the 26th one of my men brought me a ſnake, which

CHAP. XXV.

which he had juſt killed; it was about four feet long, and not thicker than the barrel of a muſket; when perceiving a knob near its middle, larger than my fiſt, I had the curioſity to cut it open, and an enormous frog made its appearance, perfectly alive and entire, a ſmall ſpot on the back of its head and neck excepted, which was blue and ſlimy, as if beginning to putrify. For the ſake of experiment, I faſtened him with a ſtring to his foot upon a graſs-plat near the river for three days; when finding the poor animal hearty and well, I gave him his liberty, with a caution to keep a better look-out for the future.

On the 28th I paid a viſit to *Thomas Palmer*, Eſq. late King's counſellor at Maſſachuſett's Bay, upon his eſtate called *Fairfield*. Here both the maſter and his ſlaves were perfectly happy and contented, chiefly owing to Mr. Palmer's juſt and equitable adminiſtration to all around him; and ſuch were the conſequences of his wiſe government, that few plantations in the Weſt Indies could boaſt of greater proſperity, either in point of produce or population; while the courteſy and hoſpitality of the gentleman-like proprietor to ſtrangers, completed his happy character, which ſhone conſpicuouſly throughout the colony.

Upon my return to the Hope I received a letter from the commander in chief, informing me that Mr. Vinſack with his rangers had killed ſeveral rebels, and taken eleven priſoners; but that another party of the rangers had been ſurprized by the enemy, and ſeveral of them ſhot dead while aſleep in their hammocks.

During

During theſe ſkirmiſhes, an inſtance of preſence of mind was exhibited by a rebel negro, I think but ſeldom equalled:—A ranger having levelled his piece was juſt going to fire at him, when the man called out, holding up his hand, "What, Sir, do you mean to kill one of "your own party?" Which the ranger believing him to be, replied, "God forbid!" and dropping the muzzle of his piece, inſtantly received a ball through the body from his adverſary, which killed him; and who, having thus ſaved himſelf, diſappeared like a flaſh of lightning. One of the captive negroes related, that the evening before they were taken, a rebel, who had formerly deſerted from Fauconberg was cut to pieces with ſabres, by Bonny's command, as two others had been before we took Gado-Saby.

On the 6th of May it blew a violent hurricane, accompanied with thunder and lightning, ſo that many trees were torn up by the roots, and moſt of the houſes on the Hope blown down or unroofed; my aerial palace, however, by good fortune, withſtood this gale; and upon the 8th, Joanna, with her boy, arriving at this place, I promiſed myſelf a ſcene of happineſs equal to that I experienced in 1774; eſpecially as my family, my ſheep, and my poultry, were now doubled; beſides, I had at this time a beautiful garden, and if I could not with propriety be called a planter, I might at leaſt claim, with ſome degree of juſtice, the name of a little farmer.

On the 9th we all dined with Mr. *de Graaff*, at his beautiful

tiful plantation *Knoppemombo*, in Caſſawina Creek, where this worthy man had foretold, before the birth of my boy, that both he and his mother ſhould one day be happy and free. Here I ſaw the following roots and plants, which I have not yet obſerved.—The *tayers*, which are the hearts of a farinaceous green ſhrub, not above two or three feet high, with remarkable large leaves, in the form of a heart, the trunk ſomething reſembling that of a banana-tree. This plant being cut down, and with a knife diveſted of its outer tegument, has the appearance and conſiſtency of a yam or potatoe, but is better eating, having a much finer grain. The tayers are of different kinds; the ſmalleſt is preferred, and made uſe of in the ſame manner as the above roots. I have here alſo found a kind of real potatoe, and in large quantities, but they are only uſed by the negroes, being inferior to the hog-potatoes in Great Britain.

The *tobacco plant* grows here with large downy leaves, full of fibres; it flowers almoſt continually, and will laſt for twelve or fourteen years, but is ſo inferior to the Virginia tobacco, that it is only uſed by the ſlaves. This plant derived its name from the iſland *Tobago*, where it was firſt diſcovered, in 1560.

They have here alſo a kind of wild *tea*, which is accounted very wholeſome, but in my opinion is no better than Engliſh ground-ivy. I found plenty of *tomatè*, which being produced in many Britiſh gardens, I will not attempt to deſcribe; but only obſerve that

that the Jews are particularly fond of it, and ſtew it with butchers meat inſtead of onions. CHAP. XXV.

The *phyſic-nut* tree is likewiſe to be met with here; this is a knotty ſhrub, that grows about ten or twelve feet in height, and very ſlender; the nut that it produces has a kernel like an almond, and taſtes as well, provided it be deprived of a thin white ſkin that adheres to it, otherwiſe a violent vomiting and purging is the immediate conſequence of ſwallowing it. They alſo ſhewed me ſeveral kinds of peas and beans, and other fruits growing in pods; ſuch as the *caſſia*, a ſhining hard yellow ſeed incloſed in a woody ſhell near ſixteen inches long, and very ſmall, with a black ſoft pulp as ſweet as honey: this is conſidered as a very ſafe laxative: the caſſia grows on a tree very common in Guiana, and which is called *ſoete boonties* and *cotiaan*. Another kind of pod, named *ſeve-yaars boontie*, is ſo called, becauſe it is ſaid to be in bloſſom ſeven years before it produces. The ſhrub called *ſnakee weeree-weeree* alſo grows here; they told me it was a ſovereign remedy for fevers, and I take it to be the ſame as the *ſerpentaria Virginiana*, or Virginian ſnake-root. Laſtly, I ſaw a vegetable or flower here called *ſeven-boom*, which is too frequently uſed by the young negro girls to promote abortion, as are alſo the green pine-apples, which are ſaid to have the ſame effect.

Thus having ſpent not only an agreeable but an inſtructive day at Knoppemombo, we took leave of our very good friend in the evening, and rowed contentedly

CHAP. XXV.

back to the Hope, our boat being nearly loaded with presents of every kind, amongst which were some fine cocoa-nuts, that one of his slaves, after walking, I may say more properly than climbing*, up the tree, had brought down in my presence, and after a fierce engagement with a black serpent upon the very top of it, which by the help of his knife he vanquished, and to our admiration dropped it down dead at our feet.

The slaves of the Hope and Fauconberg also testified their respect for Joanna and her boy, by bringing in presents of fowls, fruit, eggs, venison, and fish; and Mr. Palmer handsomely presented us with a large quantity of Indian corn to feed our poultry. Thus every thing seemed to contribute to our felicity, which was however considerably allayed by the disagreeable news we received on the 18th, informing me of the death of my dear friend, Mr. Walter Kennedy, shortly after his arrival in Holland†: it was now also confirmed that the Dutch had refused the Scots Brigade to his Britannic Majesty; which greatly surprized me, as I considered it as a claim not only from affinity, but also by treaty.

To amuse my mind from these unpleasing subjects, I now paid a short visit to my French acquaintance *Mon-*

* See Vol. II. page 69. plate L.

† This gentleman a little before his departure shewed me a letter from the unhappy youth *Campbell*; which, after thanking him for every civility, and acquainting him with his dissolution (which he had felt approach) was signed, "Your's "to eternity, R. C;" and to his father he had wrote the same.

ſieur *Cachelieu*, at his plantation Egmond. Here, amongſt other company, I met with an Italian, a planter called D'O—s, who had but one arm; with which, however, he took up a knife at table, and without the ſmalleſt provocation, as I ſat next him, made a back thruſt at me, to the aſtoniſhment of all who were preſent. Having fortunately parried the blow by beating up his elbow, which occaſioned the point of his knife to paſs over my ſhoulder, I ſtarted up, and was going to put him inſtantly to death; but this being prevented, I offered to fight him with one hand tied behind me, and with any inſtrument he choſe, fiſt, bludgeon, ſword, piſtol, or even knife; this the cowardly aſſaſſin having refuſed, was kicked out of company, and ſent home to his plantation called *Hazard*.

So violent was this unhappy man's diſpoſition, that ſome little time before, he ordered a poor negro woman, who was advanced eight months in her pregnancy, to be flogged, until her inteſtines appeared, and that only for breaking a tumbler. One of his male ſlaves, trying to evade his ſeverity, was ſhot dead on the ſpot; and there was not a ſlave belonging to his eſtate but was cut by the laſh of his whip from the neck to the heel.

Colonel Fourgeoud now ſending a proper ſupply of men, with a ſurgeon and medicines, the Hope wore a more pleaſing aſpect, and health and content began to be viſible in every countenance. Amongſt other things, I encouraged the men to catch fiſh, which were here in abundance, and the negroes taught them how to make

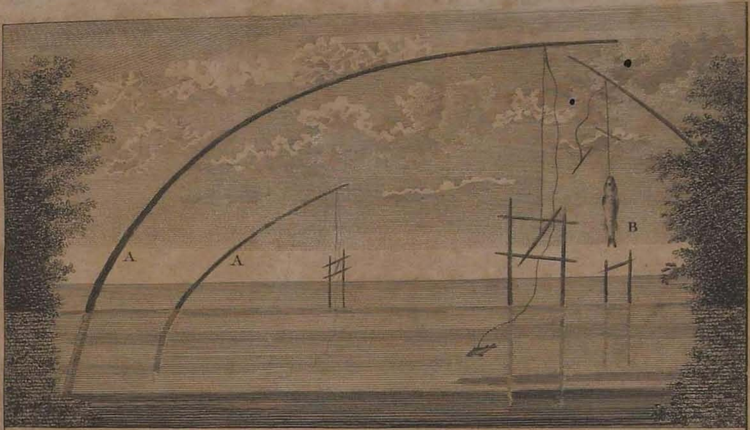
 the

CHAP. XXV.

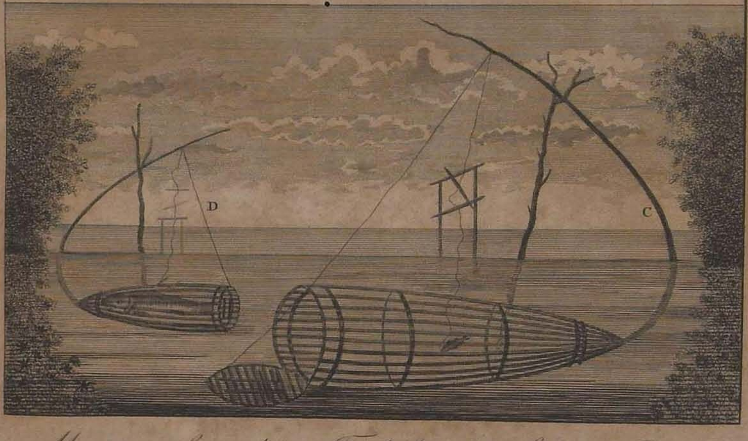
the proper ſnares, ſuch as the *ſpring-hook*, and *manſoa* or ſpring-baſket. I have given a repreſentation of both theſe in the plate annexed, where the ſpring-hook is expreſſed by the letter *A*, being a long elaſtic pole, like a ſtrong fiſhing-rod, ſtuck in the ground under water, at the other end of which is fixed a double line, the ſhorteſt having faſtened to it a ſmall ſtick, ten inches long, and the other the ſame, but a little lower; while at the extremity of *this* line is hooked a ſmall fiſh by the fins, in ſuch a manner as to ſwim to and fro, and be a bait for the larger ſpecies. Two long ſticks being next placed in the ground ſo as to appear above water, a third ſtick much ſhorter, forms them like a gallows; above this gallows is bent and fixed the elaſtic pole, by means of the double line and its beams; but in ſo very ſlight a manner, that upon the leaſt touch the whole apparatus gives way, and the large pole erects itſelf, when the fiſh that occaſioned the ſpring, by taking the bait, is ſuſpended to the hook in the air, as exhbited by the figure *B*.

The *manſoa* or ſpring-baſket is much upon the ſame conſtruction, and may be ſeen by referring to letter *C*, where it is repreſented open and under water, with the bait ſwimming in it. This baſket is made of warimbo reeds, in the form of a ſugar-loaf (the above apparatus being fixed to the middle) in the ſmall end of which the elaſtic pole is faſtened, while at the other end is an open trap-door, the whole being ſupported in an erect poſition

by



Manner of catching Fish by the Spring-Hook.



Manner of catching Fish by the Spring-Basket.

London, Published Decr. 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard.

by a forked ſtick. No ſooner has a large fiſh entered and taken the bait, than this pole, as in the former, erects itſelf with a ſpring, and the ſnap or trap-door ſhuts on the invader, and he is taken, as may be ſeen by letter *D*. This differs from the former, no hook of any kind being neceſſary. An idea of the ingenuity of the negroes may be formed from theſe conſtructions, as this mode of catching their fiſh requires no attendance, for the ſnaps being ſet at night, the fiſh is found in the morning, which is generally the newmara or barracota already deſcribed.

Among the variety of fiſh caught here was the *ſliba*, a ſmall oval fiſh, marked not unlike a pine-apple; the *ſokay*, which is a large fiſh, and very good eating; the *torro-torro*, and another called *tarpoen*; the firſt three feet in length; the other, which is white, about two feet ſix inches.

On the 26th, I ſaw a moſt ſurpriſing diſplay of activity, ſtrength, and courage by a young female negro, called *Clardina*, at the Hope; where a wild ſtag having ſtrayed from the flock, at the moment it came bounding over the foot-path ſhe ſeized it in full ſpeed by the hinder leg, but not being able to ſtop it, ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be dragged to a conſiderable diſtance, nor until ſhe was terribly wounded would ſhe let go her hold.

The Hope was now truly a charming habitation, being perfectly dry even in ſpring-tides, and waſhed by pleaſing canals that let in the freſh-water every tide; while the hedges ſurrounding the fields and gardens were neatly

CHAP. XXV.

neatly cut, and produced fruit and vegetables of many ſpecies for our uſe. The houſes and bridges were alſo all repaired, while the ſtricteſt adherence to cleanlineſs was recommended and enforced among the men: by theſe means not one ſick perſon out of fifty was now to be found, where ſloth, ſtench, and diſeaſe had ſo lately ſpread their deſtructive influence, and to which the land and ſea-ſcurvy had given the moſt fatal aſſiſtance. Of the above ſcorbutic complaints, the former covers the body over with blotches, and the latter chiefly affects the teeth and gums.

I now enjoyed the greateſt flow of health and ſpirits, while moſt of my old ſhip-mates were either dead or returned to Europe; not a ſingle officer at this time being in rank above me, except only ſuch as had been formerly inured to the Weſt India climate.

But to return to my garden—this at preſent exhibited carrots, cabbages, onions, cucumbers, lettuces, radiſhes, pepper, creſſes, &c. all thriving as well as in Europe; beſides ſorrel of two kinds, the common and the red, this laſt grows upon a ſhrub, and is excellent for making jam or marmalade. The jeſſamine alſo was found here of different ſpecies, that growing on a ſmall tree being moſt admired: it is of a pale but beautiful red colour, and a moſt agreeable ſmell; the leaves are thick, ſhining, and filled with a milky juice. A ſpecies of ſenſitive ſhrub they call *ſhame-ſhame*, grew alſo here, as did the ſleeping plant, ſo called from its leaves, which are ſet in pairs,

clapping

clapping close together from sun-set to sun-rise, and appearing as if the two were but one; but as soon as the sun is up they again open, and resume their double form. The above-mentioned shrubs were all dispersed through my hedges, besides pomegranates and Indian roses, which blow every day; while a few elegant red-lilies, which also grow wild in the savannas, adorned the banks of my canals, the leaves of which flower have a very bright and beautiful green polish.

Thus situated, we were visited, amongst others, by a Madame *de Z—e*, in company with her brother, and a Mr. *Schadts*, who were lately arrived from Holland; this lady was supposed the finest woman that even Europe produced, as well as the most accomplished. She spoke several languages, and was a perfect mistress of music and painting; she danced elegantly, and rode vastly well on horseback; she even excelled in shooting and fencing, &c. In order to make her perfect mistress of all the fashionable exercises, I offered her my assistance in teaching her to swim, which, however, with a smile, she thought proper to refuse.

My soldiers, and even negroes, seemed now completely happy, amongst whom the most perfect harmony subsisted; while I frequently indulged them with a merry evening, and a grey-beard of rum.

One night, in the midst of this festivity, I secretly ordered the sentinel to fire his piece, and cause a false alarm, as if the enemy were on the estate; when I had

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

CHAP. XXV.

the ſatisfaction to ſee them ſeize their arms, and ruſh out with the utmoſt order and intrepidity. This experiment I was the rather inclined to put in practice, as it was reported that the rebels intended ſoon to pay a viſit to the River Comewina. But we ſoon experienced that no ſcene of perfect felicity can be laſting, for the dry ſeaſon now ſuddenly ſetting-in, diſeaſe and mortality once more began to rage among us, ten or twelve men dying daily at the Java Creek and Magdenburg, while thoſe under my command at the Hope diminiſhed hourly.

On the 3d, the ſurgeon made me the following report, "That my Enſign, Mr. *Decabanes*, had his anchor-a-"peek, and would certainly ſet ſail for the other world "with the ebb-tide;" which was really the caſe, for he died that very evening. This grieved me the more, as he had obtained his commiſſion through my intereſt, and bore an excellent character.

On the 4th of June, the ſpring-flood broke down my dams while we were drinking the King's health, and laid the whole poſt under water, which created vaſt confuſion; and in this diſtreſs the overſeer *Blenderman* refuſed to lend me any aſſiſtance, which occaſioned ſo violent a quarrel, that he was glad to take to his heels, and make his eſcape from the plantation. I ſhall never have done mentioning the inſolence of theſe ſavage brutes, who moſtly are the refuſe of the earth, brought up in Germany, or elſewhere, under the cane of a corpo-

ral.

ral. "Well," ſaid one of theſe miſcreants ironically to an old *free* negro, "don't you believe that the monkies are "a race of damn'd Chriſtians, who have been thus trans-"formed for ſhewing ſo much lenity to ſuch as you?" —"No, ſir," replied the black man, "we do not think that "the monkies are damn'd Chriſtians; but I, and all of us, "believe that many who call themſelves Chriſtians are a "pack of damn'd monkies."—Which pointed repartee afforded me infinite ſatisfaction.

Of the adminiſtrators I ſhall ſay nothing, nor of the appraiſers of eſtates; having, I believe, already mentioned that the firſt got ten *per cent.* of all the produce, and many of the latter enrich the purchaſers and themſelves by ſelling under the value ſuch property as is entruſted to their care.

On the 7th, Mr. *Moryn*, adminiſtrator of the Hope, being in a piece of newly-cultivated ground on the oppoſite ſhore, I rowed over to obtain ſatisfaction of the impertinent Blenderman, who was along with him; but this fellow's cowardice being equal to his inſolence and barbarity, he made every conceſſion, and promiſed likewiſe to repair my dams, rather than run the riſque of broken bones—thus a reconciliation was eſtabliſhed.

Walking through theſe new fields, where a neat houſe was already built, I ſaw ſome beautiful birds, amongſt which was the *wood-pecker*. I ought indeed to have deſcribed this bird before, and another, the name unknown to me, having had an opportunity of doing it when I was at Magdenburg, but I then took only drawings of them.

CHAP. XXV.

The wood-pecker is about the ſize of a thruſh, and of an elegant cinnamon-colour, ſpeckled with dark brown and yellow; near the rump it is entirely yellow; the head is creſted with a fine crown of ſmall feathers, of the ſame colour as the body: the tail is long and black; the bill is ſtraight, and of a ſea-green colour, as are the legs and iris of the eyes, under which on each ſide are two ſpots of beautiful crimſon.

The anonymous bird, which, however, the negroes called *woodo-louſo-fowlo*, from its feeding on wood-lice, is larger than the former, and uncommonly brilliant in its plumage; the head and upper part of its body being of a rich graſs green; the breaſt and belly crimſon, divided by an aſh-coloured bar. The tail is long, and of a dark blue, as are the prime feathers in the wings, which are alſo divided from the green by another aſh-coloured bar; the bill is yellow and hooked, being ſurrounded by a number of ſmall black feathers, as are the eyes, the iris of which is of a blood colour. (Both theſe birds may be ſeen in the annexed plate.)—As I have already obſerved, however rich and beautiful the plumage may be which decorates the groves of Surinam, the melodious ſong there is but ſeldom heard. They had alſo here the tame *galinas*, or Guinea-hens, called *tokay*, which being ſo well known in England, require no particular deſcription.

Among the plants which I ſaw here was the *American aloe*, above half a foot in thickneſs, and twenty feet high; it is an ever-green, pithy within and without, covered

The Yellow Woodpecker & Wood-louse fowl.

vered with ſharp-pointed follicles, growing leſs as they approach the ſummit. This tree has numerous thick leaves diverging at its baſe, like the pine-apple plant, which are very long, broad pointed, and dentulated with ſtrong prickles. On the top grows a cluſter of yellow flowers, whoſe pedicles contain the ſeed of future aloes, and which never fail to come to perfection in the ſpace of two months.

In the ſkirts of the ſurrounding woods I ſaw alſo the *vanillas*, or *banilla*, which is a ſhrub that climbs up along the trunks of other trees, adhering to the back like nebees or ivy, by the help of its tendrils: the leaves are prodigiouſly thick, and dark green, the fruit conſiſting of a triangular pod ſix or eight inches long, and filled with ſmall poliſhed ſeeds. Theſe pods, being dried a fortnight in the ſun, become brown, and have a fat rich aromatic taſte, and moſt agreeable flavour; on which account they are uſed to ſcent the chocolate. There are different kinds of *vanilla*, but that is moſt eſteemed which has its pods the moſt long and moſt ſlender. The negroes ſhewed me here alſo a ſmall ſweetiſh ſeed, which they called *bongora*.

As I returned to the Hope, I met Cojo, Joanna's uncle, who had ſhot one of the *howling baboons*, which he brought to the Hope to ſhew it me. Theſe animals are the ſize of a ſmall bull-dog, and the colour a reddiſh-brown, with long hair; they have alſo a beard, and are upon the whole extremely ugly; but what chiefly diſtinguiſhes them from other monkies is their abominable

CHAP. XXV.

howl, which they perform in chorus whole groupes together, and ſo loud, that it may be heard above a mile; theſe diſcordant concerts, the negroes told me, they generally repeat, both night and day, at the time of high water, which, it is ſuppoſed, the baboons know by inſtinct.—When ſpeaking of inſtinct in animals, I cannot omit relating the following ſingular fact; after which I ſhall return to the hiſtorical part of my narrative.

On the 16th I was viſited by a neighbouring gentleman, whom I conducted up my ladder; but he had no ſooner entered my aerial dwelling, than he leapt down from the top to the ground, roaring like a madman with agony and pain, after which he inſtantly plunged his head into the river; but looking up, I ſoon diſcovered the cauſe of his diſtreſs to be an enormous neſt of wild bees or *waſſee-waſſee*, in the thatch, directly above my head, as I ſtood within my door; when I immediately took to my heels as he had done, and ordered them to be demoliſhed by my ſlaves without delay. A tar mop was now brought, and the devaſtation juſt going to commence, when an old negro ſtepped up, and offered to receive any puniſhment I ſhould decree if ever one of theſe bees ſhould ſting *me in perſon*. "Maſſera," ſaid he, "they "would have ſtung you long ere now had you been a "ſtranger to them; but they being your tenants, that is "gradually allowed to build upon your premiſſes, they "aſſuredly know both you and your's, and will never "hurt either you or them." I inſtantly aſſented to the

propoſition,

propoſition, and tying the old black man to a tree, ordered my boy Quaco to aſcend the ladder quite naked, which he did, and was *not* ſtung; I then ventured to follow, and I declare upon my honour, that even after ſhaking the neſt, which made its inhabitants buz about my ears, not a ſingle bee attempted to ſting me. I next releaſed the old negro, and rewarded him with a gallon of rum and five ſhillings for the diſcovery. This ſwarm of bees I ſince kept unhurt, as my body-guards, and they have made many overſeers take a deſperate leap for my amuſement, as I generally ſent them up my ladder upon ſome frivolous meſſage, when I wiſhed to puniſh them for injuſtice and cruelty, which was not ſeldom.

The above negro aſſured me, that on his maſter's eſtate was an ancient tree, in which had been lodged ever ſince he could remember, a ſociety of *birds*, and another of *bees*, who lived in the greateſt harmony together; but ſhould any ſtrange birds come to diſturb or feed upon the bees, they were inſtantly repulſed by their feathered allies, and if ſtrange bees dared to venture near the birds neſts, the native ſwarm attacked the invaders, and ſtung them to death: that his maſter and family had ſo much reſpect for the above aſſociation, that the tree was conſidered as ſacred, and was not to be touched by an axe until it ſhould yield to all-deſtroying time.

On the 22d, a patrole arrived from Rietwyk, in Pirica, who informed me, that a party of our troops were juſt returned to Java Creek from a cruize to *Vredenburg*, at

 the

CHAP. XXV.

the Marawina; and that, in conjunction with the rangers, they had during this campaign deſtroyed many fields of proviſions belonging to the rebels: alſo, that for their faithful ſervices, our ſable allies had been complimented by the Society with new arms, and, for the firſt time, cloathed in green uniform jackets. I further learned that the *ambaſſadors* to the *Owca* and *Serameca* negroes were returned after a fruitleſs journey, as neither of theſe aſſociations would lend the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. In conſequence of this refuſal, Colonel Fourgeoud, being wearied himſelf, and having exhauſted his troops in deſtroying moſt of the rebel ſettlements, at length determined to relinquiſh the whole expedition; which reſolution he previouſly communicated to his Serene Highneſs the Prince of Orange at the Hague.

On the 23d I received poſitive orders to prepare and be ready on the 15th of July, to break up, with all the troops under my command, leave the River Comewina, and row down to Paramaribo, where the tranſport ſhips were put in commiſſion to convey us back to Holland. This order I inſtantly read before the front to all my men, who received it with unbounded joy and three cheers—but I alone ſighed bitterly.—Oh my Joanna! Oh my boy! who were at this time both dangerouſly il!, the one with a fever, the other with convulſions, ſo that neither were expected to ſurvive. Add to this, that I ran a nail quite through my foot—thus was completely miſerable.

During this ſcene of ſickneſs and diſtreſs, the *ſtrix* or

night-

night-owl of Guiana regularly paid us his nocturnal viſits, even in the apartment where we lay, pouring out his melancholy hootings, until he was killed by one of my black attendants. This bird is here called *Ooroocoocoo*, from its note, to which this word has ſome affinity. It is about the ſize of a pigeon; the bill is yellow, and hooked like that of a ſparrow-hawk; the eyes are alſo yellow; the tongue is cloven; the ears very viſible; the legs ſtrong, ſhort, and armed with ſharp claws: the general colour of this bird is a pale brown, except the breaſt and belly, which are white, intermixed with ſome ſpots of amber. The ſuperſtitious negroes generally believe that where the night-owl makes his appearance mortality muſt enſue: which prejudice is the more excuſable, as this creature only frequents the apartments of the ſick; but the real cauſe which attracts the animal, I apprehend to be the *lights* that upon theſe occaſions are generally kept burning all night, or poſſibly the morbid and putrid air, which excites its appetite for prey.

An old Indian woman of Joanna's acquaintance being now ſent for to the Hope, I myſelf was ſoon cured by her ſkill and attention; but my little family continued ſo very unwell, that I thought it right to ſend them to Paramaribo before it was too late. And on the 10th of July I ſent all my ſheep and poultry to Fauconberg, one couple of fat ewes excepted, which I killed, and with which, by the addition of fiſh and veniſon, I entertained for two days following twenty-four of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants

CHAP. XXV. bitants in the river, while the white bread, fruit, and Spanish wines to help out the feast, I received as a present from my very worthy friend, Mr. James Gourland, at Berghoven.

On the 13th I ordered down the troops from *Clarenbeek*, where an hospital had been a *second* time erected, and they this evening anchored off the Hope.

On the 14th, an officer of the Honourable Society troops arrived to relieve me in the command of the river; and his men from that moment began to perform the duty.

I now removed my flag from the Hope to the barges; and in the evening took my last farewel of Joanna's relations on the Fauconberg estate; who, crouding round me, expressed their sorrow aloud for my departure, and with tears invoked the protection of Heaven for my safe and prosperous voyage.

On the 15th we finally left the Hope, having marched my troops on board the barges at ten o'clock, A.M.; and at noon I fired my pistol as a signal to weigh anchor, when we immediately proceeded down the River Comewina for the roads of Paramaribo, to be embarked on board the transport ships for Europe.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Troops on Board—Again ordered to diſembark—Great Dejection—Mutiny—Inſolent Conduct of an Owca Negro Captain—Near two hundred Sick ſent to Holland—General Deſcription of the African Negroes.

ON the evening of the 15th of July, we anchored off the eſtate Berkſhoven, where I ſpent the night aſhore with my friend Gourley; and in the morning we continued to row down the river, when I took my laſt farewel of Mr. Palmer. I paſſed the evening of the 17th with Captain Mac Neyl; and, on the 18th, the whole fleet, conſiſting of my own barges, together with three from Magdenberg, and thoſe from the River Cottica, arrived ſafe at anchor in the roads of Paramaribo, where three tranſports lay ready to receive us, on board of which veſſels I immediately embarked all the troops that had come down under my command.

This ſervice being accompliſhed, I went aſhore, and made my report to Colonel Fourgeoud; after which I went to viſit Joanna and her boy, whom, to my great joy, I found very much recovered.

The following day I was again ſent on board, to make the neceſſary arrangements for the voyage; and on the 20th I dined with Colonel Fourgeoud, where, to my

 ſurprize,

CHAP. XXVI.

ſurprize, I found two ſpecies of fiſh, which I have never mentioned; the one is called the *haddock*, being much like ours, but rather larger and whiter coloured: the other the *ſeparee*, which a little reſembles the ſkait. At the deſſert was a fruit called in Surinam *zurzacka*, which I believe by the Engliſh is called the *ſour-ſap*. It grows upon a tree of a moderate ſize, with a grey bark, and leaves like thoſe of the orange-tree, but ſet in pairs; the fruit is of a pyramidical form, heavier than the largeſt pear, and all covered over with inoffenſive prickles: the ſkin is very thin, the pulp a ſoft pithy ſubſtance as white as milk, and of a ſweet taſte, mixed with a moſt agreeable acid, in which are ſeeds like the large kernels of an apple. Another ſpecies of *ſmall zurzacka* grows in this country, ſomething reſembling hops, but is of no uſe whatever. We had alſo the fruit called *ſabatille*, which grows on a large tree, the leaves like thoſe of the laurel. This fruit is the ſize of a peach, very round, and of a brown colour, covered over with a ſoft down: when cut in two, the pulp is not unlike marmalade, in which are found the ſeeds; it is ſuch a luſcious ſweet, that to many palates it is even diſagreeable.

On the 21ſt we once more received our clearance, but in card money, by which we all loſt very conſiderably; however, I inſtantly went to Mrs. Godefroy, and again gave her all the money that was in my pocket, being no more than £. 40. This excellent woman now renewed her entreaties that I ſhould carry my boy and his mother

with

with me to Holland, but to no purpofe; Joanna was perfectly immoveable, even to a degree of heroifm, and no perfuafion could make the leaft impreffion upon her, until her redemption fhould be made complete by the payment of the very laft farthing. In this fituation we affected to bear our fate with perfect refignation, though what each of us felt in particular may much more eafily be imagined than defcribed.

The regiment's colours were now carried on board on the 23d in great ftate, which put a final clofe to the expedition, but without receiving any *honours* from Fort Zealandia, not a fingle gun being fired, nor even the flag hoifted on the occafion, to the great mortification of Colonel Fourgeoud, though in effect it was chiefly owing to his own neglect, as he had never given the Governor *official* notice of his intended departure. The baggage was alfo fent on board the fhips; and a gentleman of the name of *Van Heyft* entertained the marines at his private expence with three hundred bottles of wine, fruit, &c.

I have often remarked the hofpitality and generofity of thefe people, which I now alfo once more experienced, receiving various prefents of fruits and preferves from my numerous friends, to refrefh me at fea while on the voyage; amongft the preferves were the female *pappayas*, the male bearing no fruit. This grows on a grey trunk, near twenty feet high, ftraight, and pithy within, the top being covered with a crown, and only fourteen or fixteen diverging leaves, extremely large and digitated. The fruit grows clofe to the trunk; the flower or bloffom has

CHAP. XXVI.

a most delicious fragrance. When ripe, it is the ſize and ſhape of a water-melon, and turns from green to yellow, but its pulp is more firm and ſolid: the inner pulp is ſoft and ſlimy, filled with innumerable ſeeds. This fruit at full maturity is cut in pieces and boiled, when it eats like Engliſh turnips; but they uſe it principally for confectionary and ſweetmeats, when young, and with its bloſſoms being both extremely delicate and wholeſome. I had alſo ſent me ſome fine preſerved *ginger*; this is the root of a kind of reedy ſtalk, that never exceeds two feet in height, with long, narrow pointed leaves. Theſe roots are tuberous, flattiſh, ſmall, and cluſtered in many different ſhapes, not unlike pig-potatoes, and of nearly the ſame colour in the inſide, but fibrous, acid, hot, and aromatic; the ſmell is highly fragrant: it is well known to be not only an agreeable preſerve, but in many caſes an excellent medicine.——But to proceed.

On the 24th of July, the ſails being bent to the yards, we *at laſt* proceeded in corps to take leave of his Excellency the Governor of the colony, who, while he ſtill received us with the greateſt politeneſs, yet gave our hero to underſtand, that were his colours *now* to be ſent on board, they ſhould moſt certainly be ſaluted with thoſe *honours* which indiſputably were their due. After which he ſent the whole corps of Society officers to the head-quarters in ſtate, to wiſh us a proſperous voyage to Holland; and in this conteſt of etiquette his Excellency moſt aſſuredly led the van; for hinting which, however, to ſome of Fourgeoud's favourites, I had nearly engaged myſelf once more

in

in a ſerious quarrel. Our men, who had been on board ſince the 18th, being now joined by their officers, the poor remains of this fine regiment were thus finally embarked, and in the higheſt flow of ſpirits, expecting to ſet ſail the *following day* for Europe; while (one alone excepted) every countenance wore the appearance of happineſs and joy; and nothing indeed could equal the exultation of the few ſurviving troops, when the next morning the orders were iſſued for the ſhips to weigh anchor and put to ſea.

But it was by fate ordained that their eager hopes and expectations once more ſhould be blaſted: for on the very moment of departure, a ſhip entered the river with diſpatches, incloſing an order for the regiment immediately to *re-enter the woods*, and remain in the colony until relieved by freſh troops to be ſent out from Holland for that purpoſe. The SINCERE THANKS of his Serene Highneſs the Prince of Orange were now read to the men from the quarter-deck of each veſſel, "for the manly and ſpirited conduct they had diſplayed "during ſo long a trial, and ſo many great and unpre-"cedented hardſhips;" but as they concluded with orders for the troops to *diſembark*, and remain in this dreadful ſervice, I never ſaw dejection, diſappointment, and deſpair ſo ſtrongly marked: while at this moment I, who but juſt before had been completely miſerable, was now in turn the only one who was not depreſſed with ſorrow.

In

CHAP. XXVI.

In the midst of this gloomy scene, the men were ordered to give three cheers, which the marines on board one of the vessels absolutely refused to comply with: Colonel Seyburg, and unluckily myself, were in consequence ordered to compel them; which he undertook, with a cane in one hand, and a loaded pistol cocked in the other. Knowing his temper to be fiery and irascible, what did I not feel at this moment? I suddenly leapt into the boat that lay along-side, where, after haranguing those few that leaned over the gunwale, I promised the *ship's crew* twenty gallons of Holland's gin if *they* would only begin the melancholy chorus. Then mounting again the quarter-deck, I acquainted the Colonel that all were *now* ready and willing to obey his commands; we then re-entered the boat, and in shoving off had the satisfaction to receive three hearty cheers from the sailors, in which joined a few marines, but with such languid looks and heavy hearts as cannot be described.

At this time however the Prince of Orange's goodness of heart appeared in a conspicuous light, as he ordered all private accounts due by the troops to surgeons and physicians to be paid by the treasury; which, however trifling it may appear, was no trifle to many of the officers, &c. and evinced an attention in his Serene Highness which is not always to be found in princes, while all knew his sorrow for the hard lot of his soldiers, but which could not yet be dispensed with, consistent with the general good.

If our difembarkation diftreffed the troops, it afforded joy to moft of the colonifts; as indeed a petition, figned by the principal inhabitants, had been prefented to Colonel Fourgeoud but two days before, "praying that our "regiment might ftay fome time longer, and give the "finifhing ftroke to the rebels, as we had fo glorioufly "begun, and perfevered in routing and haraffing them;" which indeed was certainly true, for our regiment, in conjunction with the Society and rangers, had demolifhed moft fettlements the rebels poffeffed in the colony, and had driven them to fo confiderable a diftance, that their depredations, and the defertion of flaves, were incomparably lefs than upon our arrival; and this was affuredly much better than the Dutch making a fhameful peace with them, as had been done with the rebels of the *Owca* and *Sarameca* fettlements before, yet which would probably again have been the confequence had we not landed in Guiana.

As an inftance of the infolence of *favages*, when perfectly independant, I muft relate a converfation which paffed between one of this defcription and myfelf at Paramaribo, where the troops were allowed fome time to refrefh themfelves before they again retook the field:— Dining one day at Captain Mac Neyl's, who was now come to town from his eftate, a captain of the *Owca* negroes, our *fuppofed* allies, came in to demand money from his lady; and being very importunate, I defired her in Englifh to "give him a dram, and he would be gone;" which the fellow underftanding, called me without the door,

CHAP. XXVI. door, and lifting up his ſilver-headed cane, aſked me, "If "that houſe was my own? and if not, what buſineſs I "had to interfere? I am," ſaid he, in a thundering voice, "Captain *Fortune Dago-So*; and, if I had you in "my country at Owca, I would make the very earth "drink up your blood." To which I replied, drawing my ſword, "That my name was Stedman; and that if he "dared to utter one inſolent expreſſion more, my wea-"pon ſhould find the ſhorteſt way through his body." Upon which he ſnapped his fingers, and marched off, leaving me much diſpleaſed, and blaming Fourgeoud for ſhewing ſo much indulgence to ſuch a ſet of banditti. In the evening, as I returned from dinner, I met the ſame black fellow again, who, ſtepping ſhort up to me, ſaid, "Maſſera, you are a man, a very brave fellow; won't "you now give ſome money to the Owca Captain?" This I ſternly refuſed; he then kiſſed my hand, and ſhewed his teeth (he ſaid) in token of reconciliation, promiſ-ing to ſend me a preſent of piſtachio-nuts, which, how-ever, never did arrive, nor indeed ſhould I have taſted.

Though we continued in Surinam ſome time longer, our future ſervices could add but very little to its pro-ſperity, as our numbers were now ſo very few, and out of this number, ſmall as it was, *nine* officers and above *one hundred and ſixty* privates, all ſick and incurable, embark-ed again for Holland on the 1ſt of Auguſt. I was ill with an ague at this time, and had the offer of making one of the party, but declined it, being determined to ſee the end of the expedition if I could; I however availed myſelf

of

of the opportunity to ſend ſome preſents to my friends in Europe; amongſt theſe were a couple of beautiful parrots, two curious monkies, an elegant collection of fine butterflies, three cheſts of ſweetmeats, and ſome pickles, all ſhipped on board the ſhip *Paramaribo*, and under the care of Serjeant Fowler, who was, poor fellow, one of the invalids bound for Amſterdam.

Major *Medlar* being quite emaciated with fatigue and hardſhips, now alſo ſailed for Holland; thus, during his abſence acting as major, I began to entertain an expectation that I ſhould one day carry home the regiment myſelf, ſo very rapidly were our officers daily diminiſhing; and yet amongſt thoſe few who remained two had the courage at this time to venture upon matrimony, and married two Creole ladies, both widows.

Every thing now being peaceable and quiet, I recovered my ſtrength ſo far as on the 10th to walk to Mrs. Godefroy, when I acquainted her that I wiſhed much to emancipate at leaſt *Johnny Stedman*; and requeſted her to become bail before the court, for the uſual ſum of £. 300, as he ſhould never be any charge to the colony of Surinam. But this ſhe peremptorily declined, though there was no riſque, it being only a matter of form; at which I could not help feeling ſome aſtoniſhment, till I was acquainted that ſhe had actually refuſed the ſame favour to her own ſon.

The mention of ſlavery reminds me of a debt which I ſeem to have incurred to my reader. I have from time to time given ſome account of the mode in which

CHAP. XXVI.

ſlaves are brought to this market, and of the manner in which they are treated—But I feel that I have not been ſufficiently full upon this ſubject; and I am the more diſpoſed to bring forward all the information that I have gained concerning the negroes, becauſe I flatter myſelf that I ſhall be able to bring ſome truths to light, that have hitherto been unobſerved or imperfectly related, at leaſt to the generality of Europeans.

In the firſt place, as to the complexion of a negro, this, as I have obſerved before, is I am perſuaded entirely owing to the burning climate in which he lives, and an atmoſphere ſtill more heated by the ſandy deſarts, over which the trade winds paſs before they reach the habitable parts. The Indians of America, on the contrary, who indeed live under the ſame degree of latitude, have this wind refreſhed by the Atlantic Ocean, and are copper-coloured; and the inhabitants of Abyſſinia, who receive it cooled by the Arabian and the Indian Seas, are entirely olive. Thus north of the great River Senegal the complexion changes from black to brown amongſt the Moors, as it does toward the ſouth amongſt the Caffrarians and the Hottentots; and I am of opinion, that the woolly texture of their hair is an effect proceeding from the ſame cauſe. The epidermis or cuticle of the negroes I have ſeen diſſected more than once; it is clear and tranſparent, but between this and the real ſkin lies a thin follicle, which is perfectly black, which being removed by ſevere flagellation, or by ſcalding, expoſes a complexion not inferior to that of an European.

On the eſtate *Voſſenbergh*, in Surinam, were born two *white negroes*, whoſe parents were both perfectly black; the one was a female, ſent to Paris in 1734; the other a boy, born in March 1738. And in 1794, a ſimilar woman, *Emelia Lewſam*, was exhibited in England, whoſe children (though ſhe is married to an European) are all mulattoes. The ſkin of theſe people is not of the European white, but more reſembles chalk; their hair the ſame; their eyes are often red *, and they ſee very little in the ſun-ſhine, neither are they fit for any kind of labour; while their mental faculties, I have been told, uſually correſpond with the debility of their bodies.

With reſpect to the *ſhape* of the African negroes, it is from head to foot certainly different from the European mould, though not, in my opinion, in any degree inferior, prejudice being laid aſide. Their ſtrong features, flat noſes, thick lips, and high cheek bones, may appear deformities to us, and yet amongſt themſelves may be eſteemed the reverſe; their bright black eyes, and fine white teeth, we are forced to admire; and one decided advantage in a black complexion is, that all thoſe languid pale ſickly-looking countenances, ſo common in Europe, are never exhibited among them, nor are the wrinkles and ravages of age equally conſpicuous; though I muſt confeſs that when a negro is very ill, his black changes to a very diſagreeable ſallow olive.

* This is well known to be the caſe with many other animals, as rabbits, mice, &c. that are perfectly white, to have their eyes *blood-coloured*.

CHAP. XXVI.

For exertion and activity, their ſhape is aſſuredly preferable to ours, being generally ſtrong and muſcular near the trunk, and ſlender towards the extremities; they have moſtly a remarkable fine cheſt, but are ſmall about the hips; their buttocks are more prominent, and their necks are thicker than ours; the thighs are ſtrong, as alſo the arms above the elbow, but the wriſts and lower part of the legs are very ſlender; and a good deal indeed of the Herculean make of the late *Broughton* the pugiliſt may be traced in the form of a vigorous negro. As to the crookedneſs of their limbs, it is to be accounted for by the manner in which they are carried whilſt infants upon the mother's back, their tender legs being tied cloſe round each ſide of her waiſt, which occaſions that unnatural bent, with which they are not born: nor are their children ever taught to walk, but left to creep amongſt the ſand and graſs, until they gradually acquire ſtrength and inclination to erect themſelves, which they do very ſoon; by this cuſtom, however, the poſition of their feet is much neglected, yet by exerciſe, and daily bathing, they acquire that ſtrength and agility, for which they are ſo remarkable.

Another cuſtom which, in their opinion, conduces much to their health and vigour is, that, during the *two* years in which the mothers ſuckle their children, they frequently make them ſwallow large quantities of water, after which they ſhake them twice a day, with much violence; they are then taken by a leg or an arm, and

toſſed

toſſed into the river, to be well ſcoured outwardly; nor are the females exempt from this mode of rearing youth, which renders them not inferior to the men, in ſize alone excepted, while ſome in running, ſwimming, climbing, and dancing, as well as wreſtling, are even their ſuperiors: thus, that it depends on education to form a race of *Amazonian* females, is a propoſition of which I have very little doubt.

Nor are theſe hardy daughters of the Torrid Zone leſs remarkable for propagation. I knew a female ſervant at Mr. de Graaf's, called *Leſperanza*, who actually bore *nine* children in the courſe of three years, the firſt year four, the next two, and the third three. They bring their offspring into the world without pain, and like the Indian women reſuming their domeſtic employments even the ſame day. During the firſt week their infants are as fair as any Europeans, except that in the males there is a little appearance of black in a *certain part*, and the whole body becomes gradually of that colour. Their females arrive early at the age of puberty; but, as in the fruits of this climate, this early maturity is ſucceeded by a ſudden decay. Many of the negroes, however, live to a very conſiderable age: I have ſeen one or two that were above one hundred; and the London Chronicle for October 5, 1780, makes mention of a negro woman, called *Louiſa Truxo*, at *Tucomea*, in South America, ſtill living, at the ſurprizing age of one hundred and ſeventy-five years. In what tables of longevity is there ſuch an European to be found? though moſt probably

bably this venerable perſon ſpent her youth in hard labour, like other ſlaves; which, though a negro can bear much better in a tropical climate than a native of Europe, yet cannot be natural, either on the coaſt of Guinea or Guiana, where, without toil, the neceſſaries of life are produced, and vegetation flouriſhes ſpontaneouſly for ever.

In the conſtitution of the negroes I have ſtill obſerved this ſingularity, that while they bear the fatigue of labour in the hotteſt days, they can alſo bear the cold and damp better than an European, at leaſt better than I could; ſleeping all night on the wet graſs, perfectly naked, without any injury to their health, while I have been glad, eſpecially early in the morning, to have a fire lit under my hammock, and while the marines for want of it lay in a ſhiver. They alſo bear hunger and thirſt, and pain or ſickneſs, with the greateſt patience and reſolution.

I have formerly mentioned the names of more than a dozen of negro tribes: all theſe know each other by the different marks and inciſions made on their bodies — for inſtance, the *Coromantyn* negroes, who are moſt eſteemed, cut three or four long gaſhes on each of their cheeks, as repreſented in the face of the armed free negro or ranger, in plate VII.

The *Loango* negroes, who are reckoned the worſt, diſtinguiſh themſelves by puncturing or marking the ſkin of their ſides, arms, and thighs with ſquare elevated figures, ſomething like dice. (See plate LXVIII.) Theſe

alſo

alſo cut their fore-teeth to a ſharp point, which gives them a frightful appearance, reſembling in ſome degree thoſe of a ſhark: and all their males are circumciſed, after the manner of the Jews.

Among the ſtrange productions of nature, a ſpecies of people known by the name of *Accorees*, deſerves to be particularly noticed.—The *Accorees*, or Two-fingers, live amongſt the Seramaca negroes, in the very upper parts of the river of that name. This heterogeneous tribe are ſo deformed in their hands and feet, that while ſome have three or four fingers and toes on each hand and foot, others have only two, which reſemble the claws of a lobſter, or rather limbs that have been cured after mutilation by fire, or ſome other accident. This deformity in one perſon would cauſe but ſmall admiration; but that a whole community ſhould be afflicted with this ſingularity, is certainly a moſt wonderful phænomenon. Having ſeen but *two* myſelf, and that at too great a diſtance to take a drawing of them, I cannot pretend to vouch for the truth of what I have only heard; but an engraving of one of theſe figures was poſitively ſent to the Society of Arts and Sciences at *Haerlem*; while I beg leave to introduce, as a further voucher, the following extract from an old book of ſurgery and anatomy, procured me by the ingenious and learned *Owen Cambridge*, Eſquire, of *Twickenham*.

" After Michaelmas term, in the year 1629, a body was
" brought from the place of execution to the College of
" Phyſicians, to be cut up for an anatomy; and by chance
" the

CHAP. XXVI.

" the officer of the college brought the body of a cruel " wretch, who had murdered the ſon of one Maſter Scot, " a ſurgeon of good note in this city. This wretch was " of a very truculent countenance and aſpect; his hair " was black and curled, not very long, but thick and " buſhy; his forehead little above an inch high; his " brows great and prominent; his eyes ſet deep in their " ſockets; his noſe crooked, with a round knob or button " at the end, which alſo ſomewhat turned upwards; on " his upper lip he had ſome quantity of black hair, on " his chin very few, ſtraggling, black and ſtiff; and his " nether lip was as big as three lips. Such was his face: " but the greateſt deformity was his feet, and that almoſt " to admiration; for they were both cloven, but not " alike. One foot was equally divided between four and " five inches deep into two toes, jointed like other men's " toes, but as large each of them as half the foot could " make them, with nails proportionable. The left foot " was divided likewiſe in the middle, but the diviſion " was not above three inches deep, or ſcarce ſo much; " the one half, which was towards the body, made one " large toe, with a nail proportionable, like the inward " half of the right foot; but the outward half was com- " pounded of two toes, yet growing cloſe and faſt to- " gether. This monſtrous ſhape of a man I have thought " good to give this relation of, from certain knowledge, " for there were a thouſand witneſſes of it preſent."

With the languages of the African negroes I am but

little

CHAP. XXVI.

little acquainted; as a ſpecimen, however, I will inſert a few ſentences of that called the *Coromantyn*, upon the credit of my boy Quaco, who belonged to that nation, together with a tranſlation in Engliſh; and only obſerve, that they break off their words very ſhort, in a kind of guttural manner, which I cannot eaſily deſcribe:—For inſtance—"*Co fa anſyo, na baramon bra*, Go to the "river, and bring me ſome water."—"*Mee yeree, naco-* "*meda mee*, My wife, I want ſome food."——So much for the Coromantyn language, as ſpoken by the negroes on the coaſt of Guinea.

But as to that ſpoken by the black people in Surinam, I conſider myſelf a perfect maſter, it being a compound of Dutch, French, Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and Engliſh. The latter they like beſt, and conſequently uſe the moſt. It has been already obſerved, that the Engliſh were the firſt Europeans who poſſeſſed this colony, hence probably the predilection for that language, which they have ſtill retained. In this mixed dialect, for which I have ſeen a printed grammar, the words end moſtly with a vowel, like the Indian and Italian, and it is ſo ſweet, ſo ſoncrous and ſoft, that the genteeleſt Europeans in Surinam ſpeak little elſe; it is alſo wonderfully expreſſive and ſentimental, ſuch as, "Good eating, *ſweety-muſſo*."— "Gun-powder, *man ſanny*."—"I will love you, with all "my heart, ſo long as I live, *Mee ſaloby you, langa alla* "*mee hatty, ſo langa me leeby*."—"A pleaſing tale, *ananaſſy*

 "*tory*."

THE SARASWATI MAHAL SERFOJI'S MAHARAJA [stamp]

CHAP. XXVI.

"*tory.*"—"I am very angry, *me batty brun.*"—"Live "long, ſo long until your hair become white as cotton, "*Lebee langa, tay, tay, ta-y you weeree weeree tan wity likee "catoo.*"—"Small, *peekeen.*"—"Very ſmall, *peekeenee-"nee.*"—"Farewel! Good-bye! I am dying, and going to "my God, *Adioſo, cerroboay, mee de go dede, me de go na "mee Gado.*"—In this ſample, many corrupt Engliſh words are perceptible, which however begin to grow out of uſe near the capital, but are ſtill retained in the diſtant plantations; for inſtance, at the eſtate *Goet-Accoord*, in Cottica, I have heard an old negro woman ſay, "*We lobee ſo lebee "togeddere,*" by which ſhe meant, we love to live together; and at Paramaribo to expreſs the ſame ſentence, "*Wee looko for tanna macandera.*"

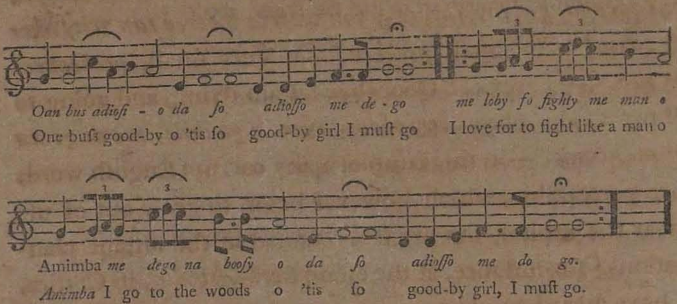
Their *vocal muſic* is like that of the birds, melodious, but without time, and in other reſpects not unlike that of a *clerk* performing to the congregation, one perſon conſtantly pronouncing a ſentence extempore, which he next hums or whiſtles, and then all the others repeat the ſame in chorus; another ſentence is then ſpoken, and the chorus is a ſecond time renewed, &c.

This kind of ſinging is much practiſed by the barge rowers or boat negroes on the water, eſpecially during the night in a clear moonſhine; it is to them peculiarly animating, and may, together with the ſound of their oars, be heard at a conſiderable diſtance.

As a ſpecimen, I have tried to ſet the following words

CHAP. XXVI.

to muſic, ſuppoſing a ranger going to battle, and thus taking leave of his girl:



Such is their vocal melody; and of their inſtrumental muſic, and dancing, which is perfectly to time, I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, having already given a ſhort account of that which is practiſed by the Loango negroes. That theſe people are neither diveſted of a good ear, nor poetical genius, has been frequently proved, when they have had the advantages of a good education. Amongſt others, *Phillis Wheatley*, who was a ſlave at *Boſton* in New England, learned the Latin language, and wrote thirty-eight elegant pieces of poetry on different ſubjects, which were publiſhed in 1773. As a ſpecimen, I cannot refrain here inſerting the following extract from that entitled, “ *Thoughts on Imagination.*”

“ Now here, now there, the roving fancy flies,
“ Till ſome lov'd object ſtrikes her wand'ring eyes,
“ Whoſe ſilken fetters all the ſenſes bind,
“ And ſoft captivity invades the mind.

CHAP. XXVI.

"Imagination! who can ſing thy force?
"Or where deſcribe the ſwiftneſs of thy courſe?
"Soaring through air to find the bright abode,
"Th' imperial palace of the thundering God.

"We on thy pinions can ſurpaſs the wind,
"And leave the rolling univerſe behind.
"From ſtar to ſtar the mental optics rove,
"Meaſure the ſkies, and range the realms above;
"There in one view we graſp the mighty whole,
"Or with new worlds amaze th' unbounded ſoul."

What can be more beautiful and ſublime? ———

Ignatius Sancho, a negro, many years ſervant to the Duke of Montagu, whoſe ſentimental letters, ſo generally known, would not diſgrace the pen of an European, may alſo be mentioned on this occaſion; and with regard to their powers of memory and calculation, I ſhall only notice *Thomas Fuller*, a negro, the property of a Mrs. *Cox* in *Maryland*, North America; and quote one ſingular anecdote, as it is related by Dr. *Ruſh* of *Philadelphia*, in a letter to a gentleman at Mancheſter.

"Being travelling," ſays the Doctor, "with ſome other "gentlemen of this city, through Maryland, and having "heard of the aſtoniſhing powers of memory in arith- "metical calculation poſſeſſed by Thomas Fuller, a negro, "we ſent for him; when one of the gentlemen in com- "pany aſked him, how many ſeconds a man of ſeventy "years, ſome odd months, weeks and days, had lived? "He told the exact number in a minute and a half.

"When

"When the gentleman who had aſked the queſtion took "his pen, and having calculated the ſame by figures, told "the negro he muſt be miſtaken, as the number he had "mentioned was certainly too great. 'Top, Maſſera,' ſaid "the negro, 'you have omitted the leap-years;' when "having calculated the ſeconds contained in the number "of leap-years, and added them, the number was found "exactly the ſame as that calculated by the negro. This "ſame man multiplied nine figures by nine, by me-"mory, before another company." Another lately repeated the *Alcoran* from recollection only.—What amazing mental faculties in African negroes, who could neither read nor write! Yet that ſuch things are, is well authenticated.

To what I have already advanced, I may add, that all negroes firmly believe the being of a *God*, upon whoſe goodneſs they rely, and whoſe power they adore, while they have no fear of death, and never taſte food without offering a libation. In the rivers *Gambia* and *Senegal* they are moſtly Mahometans; but generally the worſhip and religious ceremonies of the Africans vary, as do the numberleſs ſuperſtitious practices of all ſavages, and indeed of too many Europeans. Perceiving that it was their cuſtom to bring their offerings to the wild cotton-tree*,

* This tree grows to a conſiderable height and thickneſs, very ſtraight, and covered with a ſtrong grey prickly bark. The boughs ſpread very much, with ſmall digitated leaves. The cotton, which it produces triennally, is neither white nor plentiful, which makes it little ſought after. It bears ſome reſemblance to the Britiſh oak, the largeſt of which it ſurpaſſes both in elegance and magnitude.

I enquired

CHAP. XXVI.

I enquired of an old negro, why they paid ſuch particular reverence and veneration to this growing piece of timber. "This proceeds (ſaid he) maſſera, from the following "cauſe: having no churches nor places built for public "worſhip (as you have) on the Coaſt of Guinea, and "this tree being the largeſt and moſt beautiful growing "there, our people, aſſembling under its branches when "they are going to be inſtructed, are defended by it from "the heavy rains and ſcorching ſun. Under this tree our "gadoman, or prieſt, delivers his lectures; and for this "reaſon our common people have ſo much veneration "for it, that they will not cut it down upon any ac-"count whatever."

No people can be more ſuperſtitious than the generality of negroes; and their *Locomen*, or pretended prophets, find their intereſt in encouraging this ſuperſtition, by ſelling them *obias* or amulets, as I have already mentioned, and as ſome hypocrites ſell abſolution in Europe, for a comfortable living. Theſe people have alſo amongſt them a kind of *Sibyls*, who deal in oracles; theſe ſage matrons dancing and whirling round in the middle of an aſſembly, with amazing rapidity, until they foam at the mouth, and drop down as convulſed. Whatever the propheteſs orders to be done during this paroxiſm, is moſt ſacredly performed by the ſurrounding multitude; which renders theſe meetings extremely dangerous, as ſhe frequently enjoins them to murder their maſters, or deſert to the woods; upon which account this ſcene of exceſſive fanaticiſm is forbidden by law in the colony of Surinam,

upon

CHAP. XXVI.

upon pain of the moſt rigorous puniſhment: yet it is often practiſed in private places, and is very common amongſt the Owca and Seramica negroes, where captains Fredericy and Van Geurick told me they had ſeen it performed. It is here called the *winty-play*, or the dance of the mermaid, and has exiſted from time immemorial; as even the claſſic authors make frequent mention of this extraordinary practice. *Virgil*, in his ſixth book, makes Eneas viſit the Sibyl of Cuma; and *Ovid* alſo mentions the ſame ſubject, lib. 14. where Eneas wiſhes to viſit the ghoſt of his father.

But what is ſtill more ſtrange, theſe unaccountable women by their voice know how to charm the *ammodytes*, * or *papaw* ſerpent, down from the tree. This is an abſolute fact; nor is this ſnake ever killed or hurt by the negroes, who, on the contrary, eſteem it as their friend and guardian, and are happy to ſee it enter their huts. When theſe ſibyls have charmed or conjured down the ammodytes ſerpent from the tree, it is common to ſee this reptile twine and wreathe about their arms, neck and breaſt, as if the creature took delight in hearing her voice, while the woman ſtrokes and careſſes it with her hand. The ſacred writers ſpeak of the charming of adders and ſerpents in many places, which I mention

* This creature is from three to five feet long, and perfectly harmleſs; it has not the leaſt apprehenſion of being hurt *even* by man; while the unparalleled brilliancy of its colours may be another inducement for the adoration of the negroes.

only

CHAP. XXVI.

only to prove the antiquity of the practice *; for nothing is more notorious, than that the Eaſtern Indians will rid the houſes of the moſt venomous ſnakes by charming them with the ſound of a flute, which calls them out of their holes. And it is not many years ſince an Italian woman brought over three tame ſnakes, which crawled about her neck and arms: they were four or five feet long, but not venomous.

Another inſtance of ſuperſtition amongſt the negroes I muſt relate; there is a direct prohibition in every family, handed down from father to ſon, againſt the eating of ſome one kind of animal food, which they call *treff*; this may be either fowl, fiſh, or quadruped, but whatever it is, no negro will touch it; though I have ſeen ſome good Catholics eat roaſt-beef in Lent, and a religious Jew devouring a ſlice from a fat flitch of bacon.

However ridiculous ſome of the above rites may appear, yet amongſt the African blacks they are certainly neceſſary, to keep the rabble in ſubjection; and their *gadomen* or prieſts know this as well as the infallible Pontiff of the Roman church. Theſe illiterate mortals differ, however, in this reſpect from the modern Europeans, that whatever they believe, they do it firmly, and are never ſtaggered by the doubts of ſcepticiſm, nor troubled with

* See the 58th Pſalm, ver. 4, and 5: "They are like the deaf adder, that "ſtoppeth her ear; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never ſo wiſely."—Jerem. chap. viii. ver. 17,—and the Book of Eccleſiaſtes, chap. x. ver. 11, &c.

the qualms of confcience; but whether they are, upon this account, better or worfe, I will not pretend to determine. —I however think that they are a happy people, and poffefs fo much friendfhip for one another, that they need not be told to "love their neighbour as themfelves;" fince the pooreft negro, having only an egg, fcorns to eat it alone; but were a dozen prefent, and every one a ftranger, he would cut or break it into juft as many fhares; or were there one fingle dram of rum, he would divide it among the fame number: this is not done, however, until a few drops are firft fprinkled on the ground, as an oblation to the gods.—Approach then here, thou canting hypocrite, and take an example from thy illiterate fable brother!—From what I fometimes throw out, however, let it not be underftood that I am an enemy to religious worfhip—God forbid! But I ever will profefs myfelf the greateft friend to thofe whofe actions beft correfpond with their doctrine; which, I am forry to fay, is too feldom the cafe amongft thofe nations who pretend moft to civilization.

If favage nations be commonly generous and faithful, they are not, however, without their dark fhades; and among thefe, the moft confpicuous is a pronenefs to anger and revenge. I never knew a negro indeed forgive thofe who had wilfully offended him. The ftrength of this paffion can only be equalled by their gratitude; for, amongft them, it may be truly faid, that

CHAP. XXVI.

"A generous friendſhip no cold medium knows,
"But with one love, with one reſentment glows."

Their abominable cruelties alſo, like thoſe of all barbarous nations, are truly ſhocking. In the colony of Berbicè, during the late revolt, they made no ſcruple of cutting up their miſtreſſes with child, even in their maſter's preſence, with many other ſavage devices too dreadful to relate *.—In the art of poiſoning, not even the *Accawaw* Indians are more expert; they can carry it under their nails, and by only dipping their thumb into a tumbler of water, which they offer as a beverage to the object of their revenge, they infuſe a ſlow but certain death †. Whole eſtates, as well as private families, have become the victims of their fury, and experienced their fatal vengeance, even putting to death ſcores of their own friends and relations, with the double view of depriving their

* It is a well-known fact, that a negro, having been ill-treated by the family in which he lived as a ſervant, one day took the following deſperate revenge:—The maſter and miſtreſs being from home, he, having locked all the doors, at their return preſented himſelf with their three fine children on the platform on the top of the houſe. When aſked why he did not give admittance, he only anſwered by throwing an infant baby to the ground: they threatened—he toſſed down the brother: they intreated, but to no purpoſe, the third ſharing the ſame fate, who all lay dead at their parents' feet—then calling out to them that he was now fully revenged, leaped down himſelf, and daſhed out his own brains amongſt the amazed ſpectators.——Another ſtabbed the inoffenſive huſband to be revenged on the guilty wife; declaring, that to kill herſelf was only temporary, but to loſe all that was dear to her muſt be eternal bitterneſs, while to himſelf it was the ſweeteſt ſatisfaction.

† After the moſt ſcrupulous enquiry, and even ocular demonſtration, I can aſſert the above as literally true.

proprietors of their moſt valuable poſſeſſions. Theſe monſters are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Wiſſy-men*, perhaps from *wiſe*, or knowing, and by their fatal genius carry deſtruction to a moſt dreadful length before they are detected.

All barbarous and uneducated people have indiſtinct notions of property; nor can we wonder that ſlaves, who in their own perſons ſuffer the moſt flagrant violation of every right, ſhould be diſpoſed to retaliate. The ſlaves on the plantations are therefore too commonly thieves, plundering whatever they can lay their hands upon with impunity; nor can any bounds be ſet to their intemperance, eſpecially in drinking. I have ſeen a negro girl empty a china-bowl at one draught, containing two bottles of claret, which I had given her by way of experiment, till ſhe could no more ſtand.

I ſhould not forget to mention that the *Gango* negroes are ſuppoſed to be *anthropophagi* or cannibals, like the Caribbee Indians, inſtigated by habitual and implacable revenge. Amongſt the rebels of this tribe, after the taking of Boucou, ſome pots were found on the fire with human fleſh; which one of the officers had the curioſity to taſte, and declared it was not inferior to ſome kinds of beef or pork.

I have been ſince aſſured by a Mr. *Vangills*, an American, that having travelled for a great number of miles inland in Africa, he at length came to a place where human legs, arms, and thighs hung upon wooden ſham-

CHAP. XXVI. bles, and were expofed to fale, like butchers meat in Leadenhall market. And Captain *John Keene*, formerly of the *Dolphin* cutter, but late of the *Naimbana* fchooner, in the Sierra Leona company's fervice, pofitively affured me, that when he, a few years fince, was on the coaft of Africa, in the brig *Fame*, from Briftol, Mr. Samuel Biggs owner, trading for wood, iron, and gold-duft, a Captain *Dunnigen*, with his whole crew, belonging to the *Naffau* fchooner, which was her tender, were cut in pieces, falted, and *eaten* by the negroes of *Great Drewin*, about thirty miles North of the River *St. Andrew's*; who having torn the copper off her bottom, burned the veffel.

But from thefe deformities of character I will now relieve the attention of the reader, and proceed in juftice to difpel the gloomy cloud, by introducing the fun-fhine of their virtues.

Their genius has been already treated of, fo has their gratitude; which laft they carry to fuch a length, that they will even die for thofe who have fhewn them any particular favour. Nothing can exceed the fidelity and attachment they have for thofe mafters who ufe them well, which proves that their affection is as ftrong as their hatred. Negroes are generally good-natured, particularly the *Coromantyn*, and thofe of *Nago*. They are alfo fufceptible of the tender paffion, and jealoufy in their breafts has produced the moft dreadful effects. The delicacy of thefe people deferves likewife to be noticed: I do not remember, amongft the many thoufands I have

feen

ſeen during ſeveral years reſidence among them, ever to have obſerved even an offer to kiſs a woman in public. Maternal tenderneſs for their children is alſo natural to the females, for in general, during the two years which they uſually ſuckle them, they never cohabit with their huſbands; this they conſider as unnatural, and prejudicial to the infants: and the caſe of Leſperanza (who bore ſo many children in a ſhort time) is no exception, as her children died almoſt as ſoon as they came into the world. The cleanlineſs of the negro nation is peculiarly remarkable, as they bathe above three times a day. The *Congo* tribe in particular are ſo fond of the water, that they may, not improperly, be called amphibious animals.

The negroes are likewiſe ſpirited and brave, patient in adverſity, meeting death and torture with the moſt undaunted fortitude. Their conduct, in the moſt trying ſituations, approaching even to heroiſm; no negro ſighs, groans, or complains, though expiring in the midſt of ſurrounding flames. Nor do I remember, upon any occaſion whatever, to have ſeen an African ſhed a tear, though they beg for mercy with the greateſt earneſtneſs when ordered to be flogged for offences which they are conſcious deſerve to be puniſhed; but if they think their puniſhment unmerited, immediate ſuicide is too often the fatal conſequence, eſpecially amongſt the *Coromantyn* negroes, who frequently, during the act of flagellation, throw back their heads in the neck, and

ſwallow

CHAP. XXVI.

ſwallow their tongue, which choaks them upon the ſpot, when they drop dead in the preſence of their maſters. But when negroes are ſenſible of having deſerved correction, no people can be more humble, or bear their unhappy fate with greater reſignation. The ſwallowing of the tongue, which they only practiſe during the moments of ſevere diſcipline, has of late been prevented in Surinam by the *humane* method of holding a fire-brand to the victim's mouth, which anſwers the double purpoſe of burning his face, and diverting his attention from the execution of his fatal determination. Some have a practice of eating common *earth*, by which the ſtomach is prevented from performing its ordinary functions, and thus diſpatch themſelves without any immediate pain, but linger perhaps for a twelvemonth in the moſt debilitated and ſhocking condition. Againſt theſe ground-eaters the ſevereſt puniſhments are decreed by the laws, but without much effect, as they are ſeldom detected in this act of deſperation.

After theſe general remarks upon the mental and bodily faculties of the African negroes, we ſhall next proceed to view them in a ſtate of bondage, under all the oppreſſion they are expoſed to from the rod of barbarous tyranny; then, reſcuing them from this horrid ſcene, we will next conſider them as protected by impartial juſtice, and foſtered by the mild hand of tenderneſs and humanity.

The reader may remember that I have already intro-

duced the ſlaves as landing from on board the Guinea ſhips, and generally ſhocking inſtances of debility and miſery :—

> " Their viſage is blacker than a coal; they are not known in " the ſtreets, their ſkin cleaveth to their bones, it is withered, it is " become like a ſtick."

I have alſo obſerved, that under the care of ſome old negroes, appointed for that purpoſe, they ſoon become fat and ſleek, and learn the language of the colony: they then are ſent to work in the fields, to which they chearfully ſubmit; though I have ſeen ſome inſtances of newly-imported negroes refuſing to work, nor could promiſes, threats, rewards, nor even blows prevail; but theſe had been *princes* or people of the firſt rank in their native country, who by the caſualties of war had the misfortune to become ſlaves, and whoſe heroic ſentiments ſtill preferred inſtant death to the baſeneſs and miſeries of ſervitude. Upon theſe occaſions I have ſeen the other ſlaves fall upon their knees, and intreat the maſter to permit them to do the work required, in addition to their own taſks; which being ſometimes granted, they continued to ſhew the ſame reſpect for the captive prince that he had been accuſtomed to receive in his own country. I remember once to have had a remarkable good-looking new negro to attend me, whoſe ancles and wriſts being much galled by chains, I enquired the cauſe. " My " father," ſaid he, " was a king, and treacherouſly mur-" dered

CHAP. XXVI.

"dered by the ſons of a neighbouring prince. To re-"venge his death, I daily went a hunting with ſome "men, in hopes of retaliating upon his aſſaſſins; but I "had the misfortune to be ſurprized, taken, and bound; "hence theſe ignoble ſcars. I was afterwards ſold to "your European countrymen on the coaſt of Guiana—a "puniſhment which was deemed greater than inſtant "death."

The hiſtory of Quaco, my black boy, was ſtill more extraordinary:—"My parents," ſaid he, "lived by hunt-"ing and fiſhing: I was ſtolen from them very young, "whilſt playing on the ſands with two little brothers; "I was put into a ſack, and carried for ſeveral miles. I "afterwards became the ſlave of a king on the coaſt of "Guinea, with ſeveral hundreds more. When our maſter "died, the principal part of his ſlaves were beheaded "and buried along with him; I, with ſome other chil-"dren of my age, were beſtowed as preſents to the dif-"ferent captains of his army; and the maſter of a Dutch "ſhip afterwards had me, in exchange for a muſket and "ſome gun-powder."—Each loves his country beſt, if mild its laws, or rigid:

"The *naked negro*, panting at the line,
"Boaſts of his golden ſands and palmy wine;
"Baſks in the glare, or ſtems the tepid wave,
"And thanks his gods for all the good they gave:—
"Such is the patriot's boaſt, where'er he roam,
"His firſt beſt country ever is at home."

No

CHAP. XXVI.

No ſooner do theſe wretched ſtrangers begin to flag at their labour, than whips, cow-ſkins, bamboos, ropes, fetters, and chains are introduced, until they are ready to ſink under accumulated oppreſſion. With ſome maſters their taſks can never be performed, as they muſt toil on, day and night, even Sundays not excepted. I recollect a ſtrong young negro, called *Marquis*, who had a wife he loved, with two fine children; he laboured hard, and generally finiſhed his taſk of digging a trench of five hundred feet by four o'clock in the afternoon, that he might have ſome time to cultivate his little garden, and go to fiſh or fowl to ſupport his beloved family: hard did Marquis ſtrive to earn this additional pittance, when his *humane* maſter, apprized of his induſtry, for his encouragement informed him, that if he could delve five hundred feet by four o'clock, he could certainly finiſh ſix hundred before ſun-ſet; and this taſk the unfortunate young man was condemned from that day ever ſince to perform.

In Surinam the ſlaves are kept nearly naked, and their daily food conſiſts of little more than a few yams and plantains; perhaps twice a year they may receive a ſcanty allowance of ſalt-fiſh, with a few leaves of tobacco, which they call *ſweety-muſſo*, and this is all: but what is peculiarly provoking to them is, that if a negro and his wife have ever ſo great an attachment for each other, the woman, if handſome, muſt yield to the loathſome embrace of an adulterous and licentious manager, or ſee her huſband cut to pieces for endeavouring to prevent it.

 This

CHAP. XXVI.

This, in frequent inftances, has driven them to diftraction, and been the caufe of many murders.

It is in confequence of thefe complicated evils, that fo many alfo deftroy themfelves by fuicide, run away to the woods to join their countrymen in rebellion, or if they ftay, grow fad and fpiritlefs, and languifh under difeafes, the effects of bad ufage; fuch as the *lota*, which is a white fcorbutic fpot that externally covers the body. The *craffy-craffy*, or itch, which with us comes from poornefs of diet, is of courfe very common with them. The *yaws*, a moft difagreeable diforder, by many compared to the venereal difeafe, which renders the patient a fhocking fpectacle, all covered over with yellow ulcers. To this laft-mentioned loathfome malady moft negroes are fubject, yet but only once in their lives, in which, and being very infectious, it refembles the fmall-pox: indeed if a fly which has been feeding upon the difeafed (and they are generally covered with them) lights upon the flighteft fcratch on a healthy perfon, it communicates this dreadful diforder, which always confines him for feveral months. The moft general cure for the yaws in Surinam, is falivation and fpare diet, with continual exercife to promote perfpiration; and, during this procefs, the poor wretches abfolutely look like decayed carcafes.

Still more dreadful is the *boaffy*, or *leprofy*, which is deemed incurable: the face and limbs in this complaint fwell, and the whole body is covered with fcales and ulcers; the breath ftinks, the hair falls off, the fingers and toes

toes become putrid, and drop away joint after joint. The worſt of which is, that though the diſeaſe is hopeleſs, the unhappy ſufferer may linger ſometimes for many years. The lepers are naturally laſcivious, and the diſeaſe being infectious, they are of neceſſity ſeparated from all ſociety, and condemned to a perpetual exile in ſome remote corner of the plantations.

The *clabba-yaws*, or *tubboes*, is alſo a very troubleſome and tedious diſorder; it occaſions painful ſores about the feet, moſtly in the ſoles, between the ſkin and the fleſh. The uſual remedy in this caſe is, to burn out the morbid part with a red-hot iron, or cut it out with a lancet; and then the warm juice of roaſted limes is introduced into the wound, though with great pain yet with great ſucceſs.

The African negroes are alſo ſubject to many ſpecies of *worms*, both extraneous and internal, owing to the wading much in ſtagnated waters, and to the crudity of their diet. Of the former ſpecies is the *Guinea* or *tape-worm*, which breeds between the ſkin and the fleſh, and is ſometimes two yards in length, of a ſhining ſilvery colour, and not thicker than the ſecond ſtring of a baſs-viol. It occaſions dangerous and painful ſwellings wherever it inſerts itſelf, which is moſtly about the legs. The method of cure, is to ſeize the head of the worm when it appears above the ſkin, and extract it by winding it gently round a ſtick or card; this operation cannot be performed with too much caution, for if it breaks, the

 loſs

CHAP. XXVI.

loſs of the limb, or even of life itſelf, is frequently the fatal conſequence. Some are infeſted with ſeven or eight of theſe worms at a time.

Beſides theſe dreadful calamities, peculiar to themſelves, the negroes are ſubject to every complaint common to the Europeans; who, in their turn, are not exempt in Guiana from the afflicting and dangerous diſtempers I have juſt deſcribed.

It is therefore not to be wondered at if many of the plantations are crouded with miſerable objects, left under the care of the *dreſſy negro* or black ſurgeon only, whoſe whole ſkill conſiſts in adminiſtering a doſe of ſalts, or ſpreading a plaiſter. As to the numbers who are excoriated from their neck to their heel, by conſtant whipping, they may cure themſelves, or do their work without a ſkin, if they think proper.

Thus from accumulated miſeries, ſome naturally ſucceeding from the climate and their poor diet, but more from the inordinate cruelty of *managers*, it muſt follow that numerous ſlaves become unfit for work, many from weakneſs and depreſſion of ſpirits, and others from extreme labour becoming old before their time. But for all theſe evils, this plantation deſpot finds an infallible remedy, which is no other than to put them to death at once: the loſs does not affect him but his maſter, and he is proud of ſhewing only ſuch negroes as are able to do their taſk, aſſuring the owner that they moſtly died by

the

the venereal diſeaſe; and the word of the human carcaſe-butcher is quite ſufficient, as no negro is allowed to give evidence in any caſe whatever.

"Dictio teſtimonii non eſt ſervo homini."

Yet ſhould ſome fair European by accident prove the murder, the delinquent eſcapes, as I have obſerved, by paying a fine of £. 50 and the value of the ſlave, if the owner requires it; and for this price of blood he may ſlaughter the poor wretches whenever a temporary paſſion or a habit of cruelty, which is too commonly generated in this ſituation, prompts his rage.

They have moreover many ſtratagems to evade the penalty, ſhould even the magiſtrates be preſent. I have known it happen when one of theſe ſcourges of the human race became tired of a negro, that he has taken him out with him a ſhooting; and ordering him to diſcover the game, the firſt bird that ſtarted he has ſhot the poor man dead upon the ſpot. This was called an accident, and no farther enquiry was made concerning it. Others have been diſpatched by the following method:—A ſtake being faſtened in the middle of an open plain, the ſlave is chained to it, and expoſed to the burning ſun, where one jill of water and a ſingle plantain is brought him daily, until he pines to death. But this is not called ſtarving, as his maſter declares that he neither wanted victuals nor drink until he expired—thus he is *honourably* acquitted.

Another

CHAP. XXVI.

Another plan of murdering with impunity has often been put in practice. The ſlave is faſtened naked to a tree in the foreſt, with his arms and legs extended, under pretence of ſtretching his limbs; but here he is left, and regularly fed, until he is actually ſtung to death by the muſquitoes and other inſects—a moſt infernal puniſhment, and ſuch as may be with truth aſcribed to the inſtigation of the devil! Drowning them, by kicking them overboard with a weight chained to their legs, is called accidental death. It has been known that by the orders of a *woman*, negro ſlaves have been privately burnt to death, miſerably chained in a ſurrounding pile of flaming faggots. As to the breaking out of their teeth, merely for taſting the ſugar-cane cultivated by themſelves, ſlitting up their noſes, and cutting off their ears, from private pique, theſe are accounted mere ſport, and not worthy to be mentioned.

By ſuch inhuman uſage this unhappy race of men are ſometimes driven to ſuch a height of deſperation, that to finiſh their days, and be relieved from worſe than Egyptian bondage, ſome even have leaped into the caldrons of boiling ſugar, thus at once depriving the tyrant of his crop and of his ſervant.

From theſe ſketches can it be a matter of ſurprize, that armies of rebels are aſſembled in the foreſt, and at every opportunity thirſting for revenge?

I ſhall now conclude this dreadful ſcene by one general

remark, ſhewing how far population is affected by this moſt infamous treatment.

In Surinam there are, upon an average, about 75,000 negro ſlaves, as I have ſtated; from which if we ſubtract children, and ſuperannuated men and women, there will not be found above 50,000 really fit for labour. There are from ſix to twelve Guinea ſhips, that import from 250 to 300 ſlaves each from Africa annually: we may therefore compute the yearly importation at an average of 2,500, neceſſary to ſupply and keep complete the above 50,000; ſo that the annual deaths exceed the births by the number of 2,500, though each man negro has a wife or two if he chuſes, which is, upon the maſs, juſt 5 *per cent.* and conſequently proves that the whole race of healthy ſlaves, conſiſting of 50,000, are totally extinct once every twenty years.

Truth and juſtice however oblige me to declare, that the inhuman barbarities I have been juſt deſcribing are not univerſal. Compaſſionate Heaven has ordained ſome exceptions, as I ſhall impartially ſhew, by reverſing the picture: not, like ſome writers who have treated this ſubject, and carefully concealed the moſt pleaſing touches of goodneſs and humanity, whilſt only the darkeſt ſhades have been expoſed to the public eye, but by candidly exhibiting both ſides with equal juſtice and preciſion; and it is indeed with pleaſure I can affirm, that the negro ſlaves on *ſome* eſtates are treated, in my opinion, as *men* ought

ought to be treated; and this mode of conduct might ſtill be more general, by amending the laws, which ought not corruptly to inveſt human nature with what it is certain to abuſe—an authority completely deſpotic. No maſter ſurely ought to be entruſted with the dangerous power of taking away the life of his ſlaves with impunity; and it ought to be conſidered an equal crime in the eye of the law to kill a negro or a white man, as it is equally murder in the ſight of God.

I ſhall now introduce to the reader's acquaintance a negro family in that ſtate of tranquil happineſs, which they always enjoy under a humane and indulgent maſter. The figures in the plate are ſuppoſed to be of the *Loango nation*, by the marks on the man's body, while on his breaſt may be ſeen *J. G. S.* in a cypher, by which his owner may aſcertain his property. He carries a baſket with ſmall fiſh, and a net upon his head, with a large fiſh in his hand, caught by himſelf in the river. His wife, who is pregnant, is employed in carrying different kinds of fruit, ſpinning a thread of cotton upon her diſtaff, and comfortably ſmoking her pipe of tobacco. Beſides all this, ſhe has a boy upon her back, and another playing by her ſide. Thus, under a mild maſter and an honeſt overſeer, a negro's labour is no more than a healthy exerciſe, which ends at the ſetting-ſun, and the remaining time is his own, which he employs in hunting, fiſhing, cultivating his garden, or making baſkets

and

Blake Sculp.t

Family of Negro Slaves from Loango.

and fiſh-nets for ſale; with this money he buys a hog or two, ſometimes fowls or ducks, all which he fattens upon the ſpontaneous growth of the ſoil, without expence, and very little trouble, and, in the end, they afford him conſiderable profit. Thus pleaſantly ſituated, he is exempt from every anxiety, and pays no taxes, but looks up to his maſter as the only protector of him and his family. He adores him, not from fear, but from a conviction that he is indebted to his goodneſs for all the comforts he enjoys. He breathes in a luxurious warm climate, like his own, which renders clothes unneceſſary, and he finds himſelf more healthy, as well as more at his eaſe, by going naked. His houſe he may build after his own fancy. The foreſt affords him every neceſſary material for the cutting. His bed is a hammock, or a mat called *papaya*. His pots he manufactures himſelf, and his diſhes are gourds, which grow in his garden. He never lives with a wife he does not love, exchanging for another the moment either he or ſhe becomes tired, though this ſeparation happens leſs frequently here than divorces do in Europe. Beſides the regular allowance given him by his maſter weekly, his female friend has the art of making many ſavoury diſhes; ſuch as *braf*, or a hodge-podge of plantains and yams boiled with ſalt meat, barbacued fiſh, and Cayenne pepper. *Tom-tom* is a very good pudding, compoſed of the flour of Indian corn, boiled with fleſh,

fowl,

fowl, fiſh, Cayenne pepper, and the young pods of the *ocra* or althea plant. *Pepper-pot* is a diſh of boiled fiſh and capſicum, eaten with roaſted plantains. *Gangotay* is made of dried, and *afofoo* of green plantains. *Acanſa* and *doquenoo* are compoſed of the flour of maize, and the latter is eaten with molaſſes. His common drink is the limpid ſtream, ſometimes corrected by a little rum. If he is accidentally wounded or indiſpoſed, he is cured for nothing; but it is very ſeldom he troubles the faculty, being tolerably ſkilled in herbs and ſimples, beſides ſcarifying and puckering the ſkin, which ſerves inſtead of bleeding. The inconvenience of vermin he remedies without a comb, by plaiſtering up his hair with clay, which being dried on the head, and then waſhed with ſoap and water, makes him clean beyond conception; his teeth are conſtantly kept as white as ivory; for this purpoſe he uſes nothing but a ſprig of orange-tree, bitten at one end, until the fibres reſemble a ſmall bruſh; and no negro, male or female, is to be ſeen without this little inſtrument, which has beſides the virtue of ſweetening the breath.

So much for his body; and with regard to his *ſoul*, it is ſeldom troubled with any qualms of conſcience, or fear of death, as I have ſtated, being firm and unſhaken in what he was taught to believe, which is indeed little, but plain; and when he is no more, his companions or relations carry him to ſome grove of orange-trees, where he

is

is not interred without expence, being generally put in a coffin of the very beſt wood and workmanſhip, while the cries and lamentations of his ſurviving friends, who ſing a dirge, pierce the ſky. The grave being filled up, and a green turf neatly ſpread over it, a couple of large gourds are put by the ſide, the one with water, the other with boiled fowls, pork, caſſava, &c. as a libation, not from a ſuperſtitious notion, as ſome believe, that he will eat or drink it, but as a teſtimony of that regard which they have for his memory and aſhes; while ſome even add the little furniture that he left behind, breaking it in pieces over the grave. This done, every one takes his laſt farewell, ſpeaking to him as if alive, and teſtifying their ſorrow at his departure; adding, that they hope to ſee him, not in *Guinea*, as ſome have written, but in that better place, where he now enjoys the pleaſant company of his parents, friends, and anceſtors; when another diſmal yell ends the ceremony, and all return home. Next a fat hog being killed, with fowls, ducks, &c. a general feaſt is given by his friends to all the other negroes, which concludes not till the following day. The neareſt connections and relations of the deceaſed, both male and female, now cut their hair * and ſhave their heads, round which having tied a dark blue handkerchief, they wear this mourning for a whole year; after which, once more viſiting the grave, they offer a laſt libation, and taking their final farewell, another hog and fowls being killed,

* We are told Job did the ſame.

 the

CHAP. XXVI.

the funeral rites are quite ended by a second feast, which finishes with a joyful dance, and songs in memory and praise of their dear departed friend or relation.

No people can more esteem or have a greater friendship for one another than the negro slaves; they appear to have unbounded enjoyment in each other's company, and are not destitute of social amusements, such as the *soesa*, which consists in footing opposite to each other, and clapping with their hands upon their sides to keep in time. So very eager are they at this animating play, in which sometimes six or eight couple are engaged at once, that the violent exercise having been known to kill some of the negroes, it is forbidden by the magistrates at Paramaribo. *Awaree* is an innocent amusement, consisting in pitching with a large kind of marbles, in defect of which they use the awaree nuts or large pebbles.

The men also cudgel and wrestle; yet at this I think them inferior to either those of Cornwall or Devon. Most negroes are strong and active *. But swimming is their favourite diversion, which they practise every day at least twice or thrice, promiscuously, in groupes of boys and girls, like the Indians, when both sexes exhibit astonishing feats of courage, strength, and activity. I have not only seen a negro girl beat a hardy youth in swimming across the River Comewina (while I was one of the party) but on landing challenge him to run a two mile

* Witness *Ja*

race,

race, and beat him again, naked as they were; while all ideas of ſhame on the one ſide, and of inſult on the other, are totally unknown.—I ſhall now ſay ſomething of their inſtrumental muſic and dancing: I have already mentioned the ſinging and the dancing of the *Loango* tribe in particular; and will now deſcribe that practiſed by the other negro nations in general.

Their inſtruments of muſic, which are not a little ingenious, are all made by themſelves, and conſiſt of thoſe repreſented in the annexed plate; where

N° 1, which is called *qua-qua*, is a hard ſounding-board, elevated on one ſide like a boot-jack, on which they beat time as on a drum, with two pieces of iron, or two bones.

N° 2, is the *kiemba-toetoe*, or hollow reed, which is blown through the noſtrils, like the naſal flute of Otaheite: it has but two holes, one at each end, the one ſerving to ſound it, the other to be touched by the finger.

N° 3, is the *Anſokko-baina*, which is a hard board, ſupported on both ſides like a low ſeat, on which are placed ſmall blocks of different ſizes, which being ſtruck with two ſmall ſticks like a dulcimer, give different ſounds, that are not at all diſagreeable.

N° 4, is the *great Creole drum*, being a hollow tree, open at one end, and covered at the other with a ſheepſkin, on which they ſit aſtride, and ſo beat time with the palms of their hands; anſwering the effect of a baſs-viol to the *qua-qua* board.

N° 5,

CHAP. XXVI.

N° 5, is the *great Loango drum*, being covered at both ends, and ſerves the ſame purpoſe as a baſs drum.

N° 6, is the *Papa drum*, beaten as the others.

N° 7, is the *ſmall Loango drum*, beaten together with the great one.

N° 8, the *ſmall Creole drum*, for the ſame uſe.

N° 9, is called *coeroema*; this is a wooden cup, ingeniouſly made, covered alſo with a ſheep-ſkin, and beaten with two ſmall rods or drum-ſticks, after the manner of the *qua-qua* board.

N° 10, is the *Loango-bania*. This I thought exceedingly curious, being a dry board, on which are laced, and kept down by a tranſverſe bar, different ſized elaſtic ſplinters of the palm-tree, like pieces of whalebone, in ſuch a manner that both ends are elevated by two other bars that are fixed under them; and the above apparatus being placed on

N° 11, which is a large empty *callebaſh* to promote the ſound; the extremities of the ſplinters are ſnapt by the fingers, ſomething in the manner of a piano-forte, when the muſic has a ſoft and very pleaſing effect.

N° 12, is called by the negroes *ſaka-ſaka*, being a hollow gourd, with a ſtick and handle fixed through it, and filled with ſmall pebbles and peaſe, not unlike the magic ſhell of the Indians. This they hold above their heads, and while they dance rattle it to meaſure.

N° 13, is a *conch*, or ſea-ſhell, which by blowing they ſound,

Musical Instruments of the African Negroes.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson S.t Pauls Church Yard.

found, for pleaſure, or to cauſe an alarm, &c. but is not uſed as an accompaniment to dancing. CHAP. XXVI.

Nº 14, is called *benta*, being a branch bent like a bow by means of a ſlip of dry reed or warimbo; which cord, when held to the teeth, is beaten with a ſhort ſtick, and by being ſhifted backwards and forwards ſounds not unlike a jew's-harp.

Nº 15, is the *Creole-bania*, this is like a mandoline or guitar, being made of a half gourd covered with a ſheep-ſkin, to which is fixed a very long neck or handle. This inſtrument has but four ſtrings, three long and one ſhort, which is thick, and ſerves for a baſs; it is played by the fingers, and has a very agreeable ſound, but more ſo when accompanied by a ſong.

Nº 16, is the *trumpet of war*, to command advancing, retreating, &c. and is called by the negroes the *too-too*.

Nº 17, is a *horn* uſed to ſupply the place of the other, or on the plantations to call the ſlaves to work.

Nº 18, is the *Loango too-too* or flute, which they blow as the Europeans do, after the common way. It has but four holes for the fingers, and yet they make it produce a variety of ſounds.—Such are the muſical inſtruments of our African brethren, to which they dance with more ſpirit than we do to the beſt band in Europe.

To what I have ſtated, I will only add, that they always uſe full or half meaſure, but never triple time, in their dancing muſic, which is not unlike that of a baker's

bunt,

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

CHAP. XXVI.

bunt, when he feparates the flour from the bran, founding *tuckety-tuck* and *tuckety-tuck* ad perpetuum. To this noife they dance with uncommon pleafure, and moft times foot it away with great art and dexterity.

"Saltantes fatiros imitabitur Alphifibœus."

Every Saturday evening, the flaves who are well treated clofe the week with an entertainment of this kind, and generally once a quarter are indulged with a grand ball, to which the neighbouring flaves are invited; the mafter often contributing to their happinefs by his prefence, or at leaft by fending them a prefent of a few jugs of new rum.

At thefe grand balls the flaves are remarkably neat, the women appearing in their beft chintz petticoats, and many of the men in fine Holland trowfers. So indefatigable are they at this diverfion, that I have known the drums continue beating without intermiffion from fix o'clock on Saturday night till the fun made its appearance on the Monday morning; thus had paffed fix-and-thirty hours in dancing, cheering, hallooing, and clapping of hands. The negroes dance always in couples, the men figuring and footing, while the women turn round like a top, their petticoats expanding like an umbrella; and this they call *waey-cotto*. During this, the by-ftanding youths fill about the liquor, while the girls encourage the performance, and wipe the fweat from the brows and fides of the unwearied muficians.

* It

It is indeed upon the whole aſtoniſhing to ſee with what good-nature and even good-manners theſe dancing ſocieties are kept up, of which I repeat it they are ſo fond, that I have known a newly-imported negro, for want of a partner, figure and foot it for nearly the ſpace of two hours, to his ſhadow againſt the wall.

If to what I have ſtated relative to negro ſlaves, when under a candid and humane maſter, we further add, their never being ſeparated from each other; parents ſeeing their children around them, ſometimes till the third and fourth generation, beſides the confidence that they are all provided for to the end of their lives;—then if we draw the compariſon between this claſs of people, and the numberleſs wretched objects that diſgrace the ſtreets of *Europe*, we can aſſuredly not call thoſe Africans who fall under the above deſcription—*unhappy*.

And now, to ſum up all I have to ſay on the ſubject of ſlaves in the feweſt words, for the ſake of the reader, and alſo for my own, leſt I ſhould ſeem to contradict myſelf, by having ſo frequently animadverted on the ſhocking cruelties of ſome maſters, and occaſionally done juſtice to the humane and liberal diſpoſitions of others, I beg leave to ſay one word more on the projected *abolition*.—Could we perſuade all our commercial neighbours to join in *that* meaſure, the caſe would be different: but ſince I have ſeen cruelties exerciſed ſo commonly in Surinam, which I never heard of in the Britiſh iſlands, and from my certain obſervation have declared the ſoil

CHAP. XXVI.

of that country to be ſo much more rich and productive than our Weſt Indies, ſhall we not drive our planters from their worn-out lands, to ſettle on the more fertile ſpot, under a government which will allow a free importation of negroes, while our object (if we knew how to compaſs it) is to reduce an unlimited infliction of puniſhment, which indeed our planters have by their own laws moſt humanely reſtrained * ?

Such is indeed the love and confidence of ſome planters for their ſlaves, that they often entruſt their infants to a negro wet-nurſe, in preference to an European, where both may be had; and ſuch the attachment of ſome ſlaves to their maſters, that I have known many refuſe to accept of their emancipation, and even ſome, who had their liberty, voluntarily return to dependence. No one is *perfectly* free in this world, all mankind is depending upon one another—while I will beg leave to conclude this laborious chapter, by this general remark, that all ſublunary happineſs exiſts only in imagination, and may ever be obtained, where health of body and peace of mind are not cruſhed by *deſpotic* oppreſſion.

* By a law paſſed in the council of Jamaica, the puniſhment of a negro is uſually limited to twelve laſhes, but never exceeding thirty-nine. In Surinam I have known two hundred inflicted on a female; and was once the unfortunate occaſion of ſeeing it immediately repeated. (See Plate XXXV. Vol. I.)

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Rape of the Sabines—Shocking Execution, and African Fortitude—Description of an Indigo Plantation—The Spanso Bocko, a Punishment—The Troops again re-enter the Woods—The Expedition draws to a Conclusion.

CHAP. XXVII.

NOTWITHSTANDING the successive defeats and repeated distresses of the rebels, news was brought to Paramaribo, on the 12th of August, that they had fallen upon the estate *Bergendal*, or the *Blue Bergh*, which is also called Mount *Parnassus*, situated in the higher parts of the River Surinam, and carried away all the black women, although a military post was stationed near the above place, but without committing any kind of cruelty, as too generally had been their custom. Upon this intelligence a party of the rangers was instantly detached thither to assist in pursuing them; and about this same time the long-projected *cordon*, or path of circumvallation round the colony, was also began to be cut, by seven hundred negro slaves; which path was henceforth to be manned with military piquets at proper distances, to defend the estates against any farther invasions from without, and to prevent desertion to the enemy from within.

Mount Parnassus, which was the scene of the late *rape of the Sabines*, is situated on the west side of the River

CHAP. XXVII.

Surinam, diſtant from Paramaribo, if we include the windings of the river, above one hundred miles; and as the ſituation is pleaſant, I preſent the reader with a view of it, in the plate annexed, as alſo of the village, called the *Jews Savannah*, which is diſtant from town, in a ſtraight line, ſomething more than forty, but by water above ſixty Engliſh miles. Here the Jews have a beautiful ſynagogue, and keep their ſolemn faſts and feſtivals; here they alſo have their capital ſchools and ſeminaries, for at this village reſide ſome very reſpectable Jewiſh families. Theſe people poſſeſs particular rights and privileges in this colony, with which they were endowed by King Charles the Second, when the ſettlement of Surinam was Engliſh; and ſuch are theſe privileges I never knew Jews to poſſeſs in any other part of the world whatever.

From Paramaribo, or rather from the fortreſs New Amſterdam, the River Surinam, like thoſe of Cottica and Comawina, is beautifully bordered with ſugar and coffee plantations, as are alſo ſeveral creeks or ſmall rivers that communicate with it; ſuch as the *Pawlus*, the *Para*, the *Cropina*, and the *Pararac* creeks; but above Mount Parnaſſus not a ſingle eſtate, that may be ſo called, is to be found; neither is the river any longer navigable, even for ſmall craft, on account of the prodigious rocks, and caſcades or water-falls, with which it is obſtructed as it winds through exceſſively high mountains and an impenetrable foreſt. While therefore they form an enchantingly romantic ſcene to the eye, theſe natural bulwarks prevent

View of the Settlement called the Jew's Savannah.

View of the Blue Bergh called Mount Parnassus.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Paul's Church Yard.

prevent the poſſeſſors of the colony from making ſuch diſcoveries as might perhaps reward their labour with very conſiderable riches.

If, as I have juſt mentioned, cruelties were become leſs common in the rivers by the rebels, barbarities ſtill continued in a ſhocking degree in the metropolis; where my ears were deafened with the clang of the whip, and the ſhrieks of the negroes. Among the moſt eminent of theſe tyrants was a Miſs Sp—n, who lived next door to Mr. de Graav, and who I ſaw with horror from my window give orders that a young black woman ſhould be flogged principally acroſs the breaſts, at which ſhe ſeemed to enjoy peculiar ſatisfaction. To diſſipate the impreſſion this ſcene had left on my mind, I got into a whiſkey, and rode out; when the firſt thing I ſaw was a negro girl fall naked from a garret window on a heap of broken bottles: this was indeed an accident, but ſhe was ſo mangled, though not dead, that ſhe exhibited a ſpectacle nearly as wretched as the other.—Curſing my unlucky fate, I turned the horſes, and drove to the beach, as the only place to avoid every ſcene of cruelty and miſery; but here I had the mortification to ſee two Philadelphia ſailors (while they were fighting on the forecaſtle of their veſſel) both fall over the ſhip's bow into the ſtream, where they ſunk, and were no more ſeen. On board another American brig, I diſcovered a little tar defending himſelf from the croſs-trees with a hatchet, againſt a ſerjeant and four armed men, for a conſiderable time; till they threatening

to

to ſhoot him out of the rigging, he at laſt ſurrendered, and being brought aſhore, was dragged to fort Zelandia, in company with two others, by a file of muſketeers, where, for having been drunk on duty, they received a *fire-cant* each, at the captain's requeſt; that is, they were baſtinadoed or beaten on the ſhoulders by two corporals with bamboo canes, till their backs were black, and ſwelled like a cuſhion. However arbitrary this mode of correction, the captain endeavoured to explain the neceſſity of it; the private American ſailors being of a turbulent ſpirit indeed when drunk, although when ſober they may be fairly claſſed among the beſt ſeamen in the world.

Early the next morning, while muſing on all the different dangers and chaſtiſements to which the lower claſs of people are expoſed, I heard a crowd paſs under my window. Curioſity made me ſtart up, dreſs in a hurry, and follow them: when I diſcovered three negroes in chains, ſurrounded by a guard, going to be executed in the ſavannah. Their undaunted look, however averſe I may be to the ſight of cruelties, ſo attracted my attention, as to determine me to ſee the reſult, which was thus:—The ſentence being read in Low Dutch (which they did not underſtand) one was condemned to be flogged below the gallows, and his accomplice to have his head ſtruck off with an ax, for having ſhot a ſlave who had come to ſteal plantains on the eſtate of his miſtreſs. The truth however was, that this had been done by that lady's abſolute command; but the murder being diſcovered,

difcovered, fhe, in the hopes of faving her character, befides the expence of paying the penalties, gave up her valuable flave, and permitted the unhappy man to be thus facrificed. He laid his head upon the block with great indifference, ftretching out his neck; when, with one blow of the ax, it was fevered from his body.

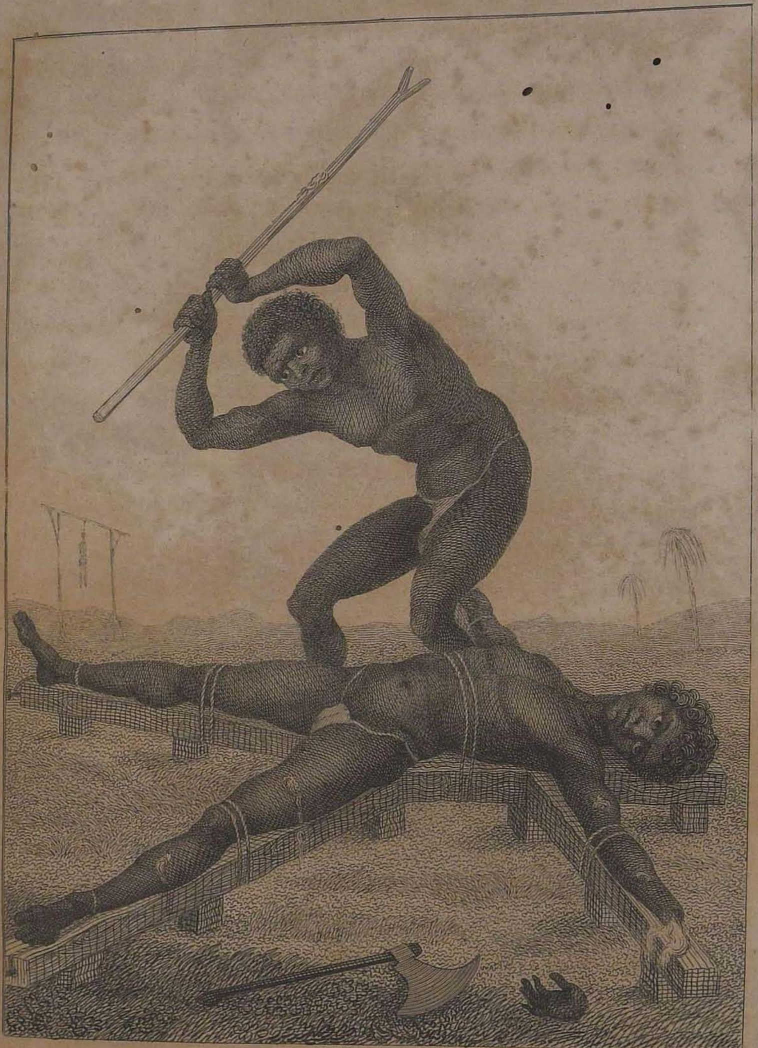
The third negro, whofe name was *Neptune*, was no flave, but his own mafter, and a carpenter by trade; he was young and handfome, but having killed the overfeer of the eftate *Altona*, in the Para Creek, in confequence of fome difpute, he *juftly* forfeited his life. The particulars, however, are worth relating: This man having ftolen a fheep, to entertain a favourite young woman, the overfeer, who burnt with jealoufy, had determined to fee him hanged; to prevent which, the negro fhot him dead among the fugar-canes; for thefe offences of courfe he was fentenced to be *broken alive upon the rack*, without the benefit of the *coup de grace* or mercy-ftroke. Informed of the dreadful fentence, he compofedly laid himfelf down on his back on a ftrong crofs, on which, with arms and legs expanded, he was faftened by ropes: the executioner, alfo a black man, having now with a hatchet chopped off his left hand, next took up a heavy iron bar, with which, by repeated blows, he broke his bones to fhivers, till the marrow, blood, and fplinters flew about the field; but the prifoner never uttered a groan nor a figh. The ropes being next unlafhed, I imagined him dead, and felt happy; till the magiftrates

6 ftirring

CHAP. XXVII.

ftirring to depart, he writhed himfelf from the crofs, when he fell on the grafs, and damned them all, as a fet of barbarous rafcals; at the fame time removing his right hand by the help of his teeth, he refted his head on part of the timber, and afked the by-ftanders for a pipe of tobacco, which was infamoufly anfwered by kicking and fpitting on him; till I, with fome American feamen, thought proper to prevent it. He then begged that his head might be chopped off; but to no purpofe. At laft, feeing no end to his mifery, he declared, "that though "he had deferved death, he had not expected to die fo "many deaths: however, (faid he) you chriftians have "miffed your aim at laft, and I now care not, were I to "remain thus one month longer." After which he fung two extempore fongs (with a clear voice) the fubjects of which were, to bid adieu to his living friends, and to acquaint his deceafed relations that in a very little time he fhould be with them, to enjoy their company for ever in a better place. This done, he calmly entered into converfation with fome gentlemen concerning his trial; relating every particular with uncommon tranquillity— "But," faid he abruptly, "by the fun it muft be eight "o'clock; and by any longer difcourfe I fhould be forry "to be the caufe of your lofing your breakfaft." Then, cafting his eyes on a Jew, whofe name was *De Vries*, "A-propos, fir," faid he, "won't you pleafe to pay me the "ten fhillings you owe me?"—"For what to do?"—"To "buy meat and drink, to be fure—don't you perceive I am

"to



The Execution of Breaking on the Rack.

"to be kept alive?" Which ſpeech, on ſeeing the Jew ſtare like a fool, this mangled wretch accompanied with a loud and hearty laugh. Next, obſerving the ſoldier that ſtood ſentinel over him biting occaſionally on a piece of dry bread, he aſked him "how it came to paſs, that he, "a *white man*, ſhould have no meat to eat along with "it?"—"Becauſe I am not ſo rich," anſwered the ſoldier. —"Then I will make you a preſent, ſir," ſaid the negro; "firſt, pick my hand that was chopped off clean to the "bones, next begin to devour my body, till you are "glutted; when you will have both bread and meat, "as beſt becomes you;"—which piece of humour was followed by a ſecond laugh; and thus he continued, until I left him, which was about three hours after the dreadful execution.

Wonderful it is indeed, that human nature ſhould be able to endure ſo much torture, which aſſuredly could only be ſupported by a mixture of rage, contempt, pride, and the glory of braving his tormentors, from whom he was ſo ſoon to eſcape*.

Though I never recal to my remembrance, without the moſt painful ſenſation, this horrid ſcene, which muſt revolt the feelings of all who have one ſpark of humanity, I cannot forbear exhibiting to the public the dreadful ſpectacle in the annexed drawing. If the reader,

* At Demerary, ſo late as October, 1789, thirty-two wretches were executed in three days, ſixteen of whom ſuffered in the manner juſt deſcribed, with no leſs fortitude, and without uttering one ſingle complaint.

CHAP. XXVII.

however, ſhould be offended with this ſhocking exhibition, and my dwelling ſo long on this unpleaſant ſubject, let it be ſome relief to his reflection, to conſider this puniſhment not inflicted as a wanton and unprovoked act of cruelty, but as the extreme ſeverity of the Surinam laws, on a deſperate wretch, ſuffering as an example to others for complicated crimes; while at the ſame time it cannot but give me, and I hope many others, ſome conſolation to reflect that the above barbarous mode of puniſhment was hitherto never put in practice in the Britiſh colonies.

I muſt now relate an incident, which, as it had a momentary effect on my imagination, might have had a laſting one on ſome who had not inveſtigated the real cauſe of it, and which it gave me no ſmall ſatisfaction to diſcover. About three in the afternoon, walking towards the place of execution, with my thoughts full of the affecting ſcene, and the image of the ſufferer freſh in my mind, the firſt object I ſaw was his head at ſome diſtance, placed on a ſtake, *nodding* to me backwards and forwards, as if he had really been alive. I inſtantly ſtopped ſhort, and ſeeing no perſon in the ſavannah, nor a breath of wind ſufficient to move a leaf or a feather, I acknowledge that I was rivetted to the ground, where I ſtood without having the reſolution of advancing one ſtep for ſome time; till reflecting that I muſt be weak indeed not to approach this dead ſkull, and find out the wonderful phænomenon, if poſſible, I boldly walked up, and inſtantly diſcovered the natural cauſe, by the return of a *vulture* to the gallows,

§ who

who perched upon it, as if he meant to diſpute with me for this feaſt of carrion; which bird, having already picked out one of the eyes, had fled at my firſt approach, and ſtriking the ſkull with his talons, as he took his ſudden flight, occaſioned the motion already deſcribed. I ſhall now only add, that this poor wretch, after living near ſix hours, had been knocked on the head by the commiſerating ſentinel, the marks of whoſe muſket were perfectly viſible by a large open fracture in the ſkull.

Vultures are compared by ſome to the eagle, though thoſe of Surinam poſſeſs very oppoſite qualities. They are indeed birds of prey, but inſtead of feeding on what they kill, like the other noble animal, their chief purſuit is carrion; wherefore they generally reſort to burial-grounds and places of execution, which they diſcover by their very acute ſmell, ſo much ſo, that by the negroes they are called *tingee-fowlo*, or the ſtinking bird. The Guiana vultures are the ſize of a common turkey; they are of a dark-grey colour, with black wings and tail; the bill is ſtraight with a crooked point, and very ſtrong; the tongue is cloven, the neck without feathers, and the legs very ſhort. Beſides carrion, theſe birds will often deſtroy and eat ſerpents, and indeed every thing that comes in their way, until they are ſo much gorged that they can hardly fly.

The bird called the *king of the vultures* is not very common in Surinam, though ſometimes the Indians bring one or two to Paramaribo for ſale, on account of its great

 beauty.

CHAP. XXVII.

beauty. This is larger than any turkey-cock, with a naked head and neck, the ſkin of which is partly brown, yellow, and ſcarlet: round its neck it has a duſky, long, feathered collar, in which it can at pleaſure withdraw, and ſo far hide its neck, that nothing but part of the head is perceptible. This bird likewiſe feeds on carrion, ſerpents, rats, toads, and even excrements.

Among the other birds of prey in the foreſt of Surinam, is found the *creſted eagle*. This is a very fierce bird, and alſo very ſtrong; the back is black, but yellowiſh at the baſe; the breaſt and belly white, with black ſpots, as are its thighs, and even the feathers of its legs; the reſt of the body is entirely brown, and the claws perfectly yellow. The head of this bird is flat, ornamented with four feathers, two long and two ſhort, which it can erect or depreſs at pleaſure.

About this time the *Hind*, an Engliſh frigate, with her tender, were on the coaſt, looking out for American prizes.

The 24th, being the Prince of Orange's birth-day, the whole corps of officers were entertained with ſalt beef, ſalt pork, barley puddings, and hard peaſe, by Colonel Fourgeoud. And this day (poor Joanna being inflexible in her reſolutions) I ratified the agreement with the good Mrs. Godefroy, in preſence of her mother and other relations, whereby the above lady bound herſelf "never to "part with her, except to myſelf alone, as long as ſhe liv- "ed; and that upon her death, not only her full liberty,

but

" but a ſpot of ground for cultivation, beſides a neat houſe " built upon it, ſhould be her portion for ever, to diſpoſe " of as ſhe pleaſed." After this ſhe returned my remaining bond of 900 florins, and gave Joanna a purſe with gold containing near twenty ducats, beſides a couple of pieces of Eaſt India chintz, adviſing me at the ſame time " to " give in a requeſt to the court for little Johnny's imme- " diate manumiſſion; which," ſhe obſerved, " was a ne- " ceſſary form, whether I ſhould be able to obtain the bail " uſually required or not; and without which formality, " even if I had the bail ready to appear, nothing would " be done in the courſe of buſineſs."

Having both of us thanked this moſt excellent woman, I went to ſup with the Governor, where being tranſ- ported with joy, I gave him my requeſt in full form, which he coolly put in his pocket with one hand, while he gave me a hearty ſqueeze with the other; and ſhaking his head, told me frankly, " that he would lay it before " the court; but at the ſame time was perfectly con- " vinced my boy muſt die a ſlave, unleſs I could find the " neceſſary bail, which he was at the ſame time well per- " ſuaded very few people would wiſh to appear for." Thus, after ſpending ſo much time and labour, beſides the expence of above a hundred guineas already paid, I had ſtill the inexpreſſible mortification to ſee this dear little fellow, of whom I was both the father and the maſter, expoſed to perhaps eternal ſervitude; as for Joanna, ſhe was now perfectly ſafe, to my heartfelt ſatisfaction.

One

CHAP. XXVII.

One consolation, however, in the midst of this disappointment, most opportunely presented itself. The famous negro, *Graman-Qwacy*, formerly mentioned, who was just returned from Holland, brought the news, that partly by *his* interest a new law was there enacted, by which all slaves were to be free six months after their landing at the Texel; which, indeed, on application of their masters, might be extended to twelve, but not a single day longer on any account whatsoever.—Thus being persuaded that I should *one day* joyfully carry both him and his mother over the Atlantic, my heart was greatly relieved.

Of this Graman-Qwacy I will beg leave to give a short account, before I take farewell of the reader. Suffice it for the present to say, that the Prince of Orange, besides paying his out and homeward passage, and giving him several presents, sent him back to Surinam dressed in a suit of blue and scarlet, trimmed over with broad gold lace: on his hat he wore a white feather, and looked upon the whole not unlike one of the Dutch generals; which goodness made this king of the negroes, however, very proud, and even frequently very saucy.

On the 25th, the Governor of the colony gave a very sumptuous feast to several of his friends at his *indigo-plantation*, which was situated but a few miles at the back of his palace, where I had the honour to be invited as one of the party, and had the pleasure of inspecting the

procefs of making *indigo*, a detail of which will probably be acceptable. CHAP. XXVII.

In the firft place, therefore, I fhall prefent the curious with a drawing of the *indigo plant*, which is a knotty fhrub produced from feed, which grows to about two feet from the ground, and comes to perfection in the fpace of two months. This plant requires a very rich foil, which befides ought to be kept perfectly clean from weeds. In the plate, *A* is the colour of the fprig; *B*, the leaves above; *C*, the fame below; *D*, the feed inclofed in fmall brown pods; *E*, the fize of the leaf as it grows; *F*, a piece of indigo ready made for ufe. The above fprig was defigned from nature on the fpot, but on a fmall fcale: it has fomething the appearance of the tamarind branch, principally in the fize of the leaf, which alfo grows in pairs, and is darker above than below; but at the extremity of each fhoot in *this* fhrub, one leaf grows fingle, which is not the cafe in the other. The young fhoot in the tamarind-trees alfo appears at the extremity of the branches; but in this they fpring forth, as may be feen, from the bafe.

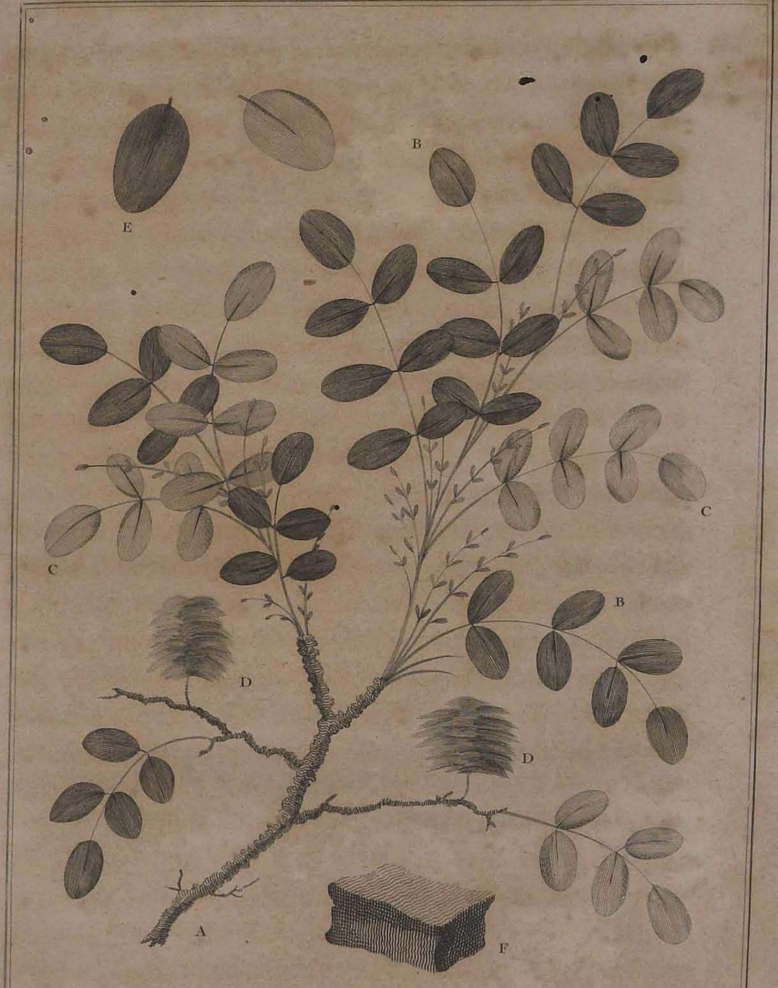
The mode in which this plant is converted into indigo is as follows:—When all the verdure is cut off, the whole crop is tied in bunches, and put into a very large tub with water, covered over with very heavy logs of wood by way of preffers: thus kept, it begins to ferment; in lefs than eighteen hours the water feems to boil, and becomes of a violet or garter blue colour, extracting all the grain or colouring matter from the

CHAP. XXVII.

the plant: in this ſituation the liquor is drawn off into another tub, which is ſomething leſs, when the remaining traſh is carefully picked up and thrown away; and the very noxious ſmell of this refuſe it is that occaſions the peculiar unhealthineſs which is always incident to this buſineſs. Being now in the ſecond tub, the maſh is agitated by paddles adapted for the purpoſe, till by a ſkilful maceration all the grain ſeparates from the water, the firſt ſinking like mud to the bottom, while the latter appears clear and tranſparent on the ſurface: this water, being carefully removed till near the coloured maſs, the remaining liquor is drawn off into a third tub, to let what indigo *it* may contain alſo ſettle in the bottom; after which, the laſt drops of water here being alſo removed, the ſediment or *indigo* is put into proper veſſels to dry, where being diveſted of its laſt remaining moiſture, and formed into ſmall, round, and oblong ſquare pieces, it is become a beautiful dark blue, and fit for exportation. The beſt indigo ought to be light, hard, and ſparkling. In Surinam but little of it is cultivated, for what reaſon I know not, ſince one pound is ſold for about four florins, which is about ſeven ſhillings in ſterling money.

It is ſaid this article was firſt introduced by one *Deſtrades*, who called himſelf a French officer, and muſt have brought it from the iſland of St. Domingo very lately, ſince I myſelf was well acquainted with this poor fellow, who ſince ſhot himſelf through the head with a piſtol at Demerary.—As the circumſtances of his

death



Sprig of the Indigo Plant.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson, S.t Pauls Church Yard.

death were ſomewhat remarkable, I cannot reſiſt the temptation of relating them. Having involved himſelf in debt, he turned to ready money his remaining effects, and fled from Surinam: next ſetting up in the Spaniſh contraband trade, his all was taken. Deprived of every thing, he now applied for protection to a friend at Demerary, who humanely gave him ſhelter: at this time an abſceſs gathering in his ſhoulder, every aſſiſtance was offered, but in vain, Mr. Deſtrades refuſing to let it be even examined; his ſhoulder therefore grew worſe, and even dangerous, but he perſiſted in not permitting it to be uncovered; till one day, having dreſſed himſelf in his beſt apparel, the family was alarmed by the report of fire-arms, when they found him weltering in his blood, with a piſtol by his ſide; and then, to their ſurprize, having ſtripped him, the mark of *V.* for *voleur*, or thief, was diſcovered on the very ſhoulder he had attempted to conceal.—Thus ended the life of this poor wretch, who had for years at Paramaribo ſupported the character of a polite and well-bred gentleman, where he had indeed been univerſally reſpected.

Dinner being over at the Governor's indigo-plantation, I now departed in his excellency's coach to the water-ſide, where a tent-barge and eight oars lay in waiting to row me down to the eſtate *Catwyk*, in the River Comewina, whither I was invited by Mr. *Goetzee*, a Dutch naval officer, who was the proprietor of this beautiful country-ſeat. In this charming ſituation, no amuſements

CHAP. XXVII.

were wanting. There were carriages, ſaddle-horſes, ſail-boats, billiard-tables, &c. all ready for immediate uſe. But what embittered the pleaſure was, the inhuman diſpoſition of Mr. Goetzee's *lady*, who flogged her negro ſlaves for every little trifle. For inſtance, one of the foot-boys, called *Jacky*, not having rinſed the glaſſes according to her mind, ſhe ordered him to be whipped the next morning; but the unfortunate youth ſoon put himſelf beyond the reach of her reſentment: for, having taken farewell of the other negroes on the eſtate, he went up ſtairs, laid himſelf down upon his *maſter's* own bed, where, placing the muzzle of a loaded fowling-piece in his mouth, by the help of his toe he drew the trigger, and put an end to his exiſtence. A couple of ſtout negroes were now ſent up to ſee what was the matter; who, finding the bed all over beſpattered with blood and brains, got orders to throw the body out of the window to the dogs, while the maſter and miſtreſs were ſo very much alarmed, that they never got the better of it*; nor would any perſon conſent to lie in the ſame apartment, till I choſe it in preference to any other, being aſſuredly the moſt pleaſant room, and the very beſt bed, in the houſe. What added much to the alarm of the family, was the circumſtance of a favourite child lying faſt aſleep in the ſame apartment where this ſhocking cataſtrophe happened. They were, however, relieved from

* The above unhappy people were poiſoned by their ſlaves about ſix years after this happened.

their alarms on this ſcore, by being informed that it had not received the ſmalleſt injury.

CHAP. XXVII.

I had not been fourteen days on this plantation, when a female mulatto ſlave, called *Yettee*, for having jocoſely ſaid "her miſtreſs had ſome debt as well as herſelf," was ſtripped ſtark naked, and in a very indecent as well as inhuman manner flogged by two ſtout negroes before the dwelling-houſe door (while both her feet were locked to a heavy iron bolt) until hardly any ſkin was left on her thighs or ſides. Five days after this I had the good fortune, however, to get her relieved from the iron-bolt, which was locked acroſs her ſhins: but a Mrs. *Van Eys*, alledging ſhe had affronted her alſo by her *ſaucy* looks, prevailed on Mrs. Goetzee to renew the puniſhment the ſame week; when ſhe was actually ſo cruelly beaten, that I expected ſhe could not have ſurvived it.

Diſguſted with this barbarity, I left the eſtate Catwyk, determined never more to return to *it*: but I ſtill accompanying Mr. Goetzee to viſit ſome of his other plantations from curioſity, in Cottica and Pirica Rivers, at one of theſe, called the *Alia*, a new-born female infant was preſented me by way of compliment, to give it a name, which I called *Charlotte*. But the next morning, during breakfaſt, ſeven negroes were here again tied up and flogged, ſome with a *cow-ſkin*, which is very terrible.—Hence I made my retreat to the eſtate *Sgraven-Hague*, and there, meeting a mulatto youth in chains, whoſe name was *Douglas*, I with horror recollected his unhappy father, who had

been obliged to leave him a ſlave, and was now dead. Heartily tired of my excurſion, I was now glad to make haſte back to Paramaribo; where, as ſoon as I arrived, the firſt news I heard was that Colonel Fourgeoud's French valet-de-chambre, poor *Monſieur Laurant*, had actually been buried before he was quite dead;—and that, for having been found drunk in an ale-houſe, no leſs than thirteen of our men had moſt ſeverely run the gauntlet, and as many been terribly baſtinadoed, the greateſt number of which no more ſaw Europe;—alſo, that a Quaderoon youth and a Dutch ſailor were found murdered on the beach.—I was now proceeding to take a walk on the plain or eſplanade, but here I was called in by Mr. St—k—r, who conducting me three ſtories high: "From this window (ſaid he) a "few days ſince, leaped one of my black boys, to eſ-"cape a gentle flogging; however, having only fainted "in conſequence of his fall, we ſoon brought him to life "again by a hearty ſcouring on the ribs, ſo he did not "eſcape; after which, for having riſked himſelf, that is "to ſay his maſter's property, and frightened my wife, ſhe "ordered him to be ſent to Fort Zelandia, where he re-"ceived the intereſt, that is a moſt confounded *ſpanſo-"bocko*."

The puniſhment called *ſpanſo-bocko* is extremely ſevere indeed, and is executed in the following manner:—The priſoner's hands being laſhed together, he is laid down on the ground on one ſide, with his knees thruſt between his arms, and theſe confined by a ſtrong ſtake, which

which ſeparates them from his wriſts, and is driven perpendicularly into the ground, inſomuch that he can no more ſtir than if he was dead. In this locked poſition, truſſed like a fowl, he is beaten on one ſide of his breech by a ſtrong negro, with a handful of knotty tamarind branches, till the very fleſh is cut away; he is then turned over on the other ſide, where the ſame dreadful flagellation is inflicted, till not a bit of ſkin is left, and the place of execution is dyed with blood: after which the raw lacerated wound is immediately waſhed with lemon-juice and gun-powder to prevent mortification, and then he is ſent home to recover as well as he can.

The above cruel and indecent puniſhment is ſometimes repeated at every ſtreet in the town of Paramaribo, to men and women indiſcriminately, which is a ſeverity abſolutely beyond conception; however, it is never *thus* inflicted without a condemnation from the court. But a ſingle *ſpanſo-bocko*, without regard to age or ſex, as I have juſt mentioned, may be ordered by any proprietor, either at home, or by ſending the victim to the fortreſs, with a note to the public executioner, to whom ſome trifle in money is paid as a fee of office.

I next was addreſſed by a Monſieur *Rochetaux*, whoſe Coromantyn cook, having ſpoiled his *ragout*, had juſt cut his own throat to prevent a whipping; and Mr. Charles *Reynſdorp*'s lately did the ſame.

After theſe facts, can it be a matter of ſurprize, that the

CHAP. XXVII.

the negro ſlaves riſe up in rebellion againſt maſters who treat them with ſo very much ſeverity?

As I do not recollect that I have deſcribed in what manner theſe inſurgents generally attack the eſtates, I cannot introduce it on a more proper occaſion.

Having lain during the night lurking in the buſhes that ſurround the eſtate, they always appear a little before day-break, when unexpectedly falling on and maſſacring the Europeans, they plunder the dwelling-houſe, which they next ſet on fire, and then carry off the negro women, whom they load with the ſpoil, and treat with the utmoſt inſolence ſhould they make oppoſition *.

And now farewell, I hope, ye wretched objects, who have not made the leaſt conſpicuous figure in theſe bloody pages! for which I ſhould be more ready to apologize to the reader, had I not been induced to make cruelty aſhamed of itſelf, and humanity gain ground: that at laſt, in ſome meaſure, my motive may be crowned with ſucceſs, I moſt ſincerely wiſh, abhorring every act of barbarity from the very bottom of my ſoul.

" Why, *Chriſtians*, rage thine inſolence and ſcorn,
" Why burſt thy vengeance on the wretch forlorn?

* For minute particulars I cannot do better than refer the curious to Mr. *Belknap*'s Hiſtory of *New Hampſhire*; where he deſcribes the inſurrection of the American Indians, which are almoſt perfectly ſimilar to thoſe of the African negroes.

" The

"The cheerlefs captive, to flow death confign'd,
"*Weigh'd down with chains*, in prifon glooms confin'd;
"Of hope bereft, *who*, by thy minions curs'd,
"With hunger famifh'd, and confum'd with thirft,
"Without one friend, when Death's laft horror ftung,
"Roll'd the wild eye, and gnaw'd the anguifh'd tongue."

I have already ftated that on the 24th of Auguft I gave in a hopelefs requeft to the Governor for my boy's emancipation; and on the 8th of October I faw with equal joy and furprize the following advertifement pofted up, "That if any one could give in a lawful objection why "*John Stedman*, a Quaderoon infant, the fon of Captain "Stedman, fhould not be prefented with the bleffing of "freedom, fuch perfon or perfons to appear before Ja-"nuary 1ft, 1777."—I no fooner read it, than I ran with the good news to my good friend, Mr. Palmer, who affured me, "that the above was no more than a form, put "in practice on the fuppofition of my producing the bail "required, which undoubtedly they expected, from my "having fo boldly given in my requeft to the Governor of "the colony."—Without being able to utter one fyllable in reply, I retired to the company of Joanna, who, with a fmile, bid me "never to defpair, that Johnny certainly one "day would be free;" nor did fhe ever fail in giving me fome confolation, whatever defperate were my expectations.

About this time we were informed, that in the Utrecht paper an impertinent *libel* had appeared againft the good

Four-

CHAP. XXVII.

Fourgeoud, ridiculing him for his embaſſy to the *Owca* and *Seramica* negroes: which gentleman, though he had no aſſiſtance from theſe *allies* to expect, and his troops now melted down almoſt to nothing, nevertheleſs ſcorned to keep thoſe that could ſtand upon their feet inactive. Thus, having provided the few remaining privates with new cloathes (the *firſt* they had received ſince 1772) beſides new ſabres, bill-hooks, &c. he ſent them all once more up, accompanied only by the ſubalterns, to be encamped at the mouth of the Caſſipore Creek, in the upper parts of the Cottica river; the ſtaff officers and captains being ordered ſoon to follow: and on the 7th *we* were treated by our commander, for the *firſt* time, with a ſirloin of good roaſt-beef, which, however, was ſent him from Amſterdam, prepared as I have already deſcribed. At the deſſert was a kind of fruit called in Surinam *pomme de canelle*, or cinnamon-apple: it grows on a ſhrub in moſt gardens at Paramaribo, and has ſomething the appearance of a young artichoke, being covered with a kind of green ſcales. The ſkin of this fruit is half an inch thick, and the pulp like clotted cream mixed with brown ſugar: it is very ſweet, but not much eſteemed by many palates, being rather too luſcious; the ſeeds, which are black, hard, and large, are contained in the pulp or creamy ſubſtance.

Having now prepared myſelf once more for actual ſervice, and again received a profuſion of wine, ſpirits, and refreſhments of every kind, to carry with me to the

woods,

woods, from different friends at Paramaribo; I left my dear mulatto and her boy to the care of that excellent woman Mrs. Godefroy, in order the following day to ſet out on my *ſeventh* campaign, and help, if poſſible, to compleat that buſineſs we had ſo long and ſo ardently undertaken, for the ſafety and welfare of this valuable colony, and its *lawful* inhabitants of every denomination; while happily my health and my ſpirits were at this time once more juſt as vigorous and as ſtrong, with all my limbs as perfectly ſound, as the very firſt day that I landed, with Colonel Fourgeoud and his regiment of marines, in *Terra Firma*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Rebels fly for Protection to Cayenne—Third March to Gado-Saby—A second Re-inforcement of Troops arrive from Holland—Shipwreck of the Transport Paramaribo—March to Rio Comewina—Dismal Picture of Distress and of Mortality—The Peace of the Colony restored.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ON the 10th of November, in company with several other gentlemen, I now once more set out in a tent barge for the encampment at the *Casseepore* Creek; and this day the whole colony was full of smoke, the woods having taken fire near the sea side by some unknown accident. On our passage we met Colonel *Texier*, who came from the post *Vredenburgh*, at the Marawina, with a detachment; and assured us, that since the blow we gave to the rebels at *Gado-Saby*, they were mostly fled to the other side of that great river, where they found refuge amongst the French who were settled in *Cayenne*; he had, however, taken a woman, and lieutenant *Keen* took two men, and killed two more, while the two new black volunteer companies supported the honour of their colours, which they had received with so much ceremony from the governor, by occasionally bringing in captives from the sea shore behind Paramaribo, in which they were assisted by the Indians, who had voluntarily fought and defeated the enemy there,

there, more than once. Thus every thing promiſed fair to crown our endeavours with ſucceſs, and finally to re-eſtabliſh ſafety and tranquillity in the colony. CHAP. XXVIII.

On our paſſage we ſtopped at the eſtate *Saardan*, the proprietor of which (by a late marriage) was our Lieutenant Colonel *Des Borgnes*. I found here an American ſailor who came to load molaſſes, and having an inclination to try the ſkill of the new planter (and his overſeer) in rum, I deſired the tar to colour a couple of gallons of *kill-devil* made at the very ſame plantation, and bring them aſhore as rum brought from *Antigua*. He did ſo, and they gave him in exchange for it a ſix gallon keg of the very ſame ſpirits; declaring it was much better than their own, and then drank the contents in punch, to my very great entertainment. The ſailor ſaid he ſhould colour the ſix gallons alſo, and did not doubt of loading his boat to the water's edge before he reached Paramaribo. —Such, in all countries, is the force of prejudice.

Having been very well entertained at Saardan, we ſet forward, and arrived ſafe in the encampment at the Caſſeepore Creek, in Cottica River, on the 13th; where, in ſtepping aſhore, being without ſhoes and ſtockings, I narrowly eſcaped being bitten by a *land-ſcorpion*. This inſect is of the ſize of a ſmall cray-fiſh, and has an oval body; its colour is like that of ſoot, and it is jointed in moveable rings: it has eight legs, divided by joints, and two jointed claws projecting from the head, appearing like part of the body, with ſuch ſmall eyes that they are

CHAP. XXVIII.

hardly perceptible: the tail is formed by ſeven globular diviſions like beads, which terminate in a double ſting; this it bends over its back, to protect its young ones from the attacks of other inſects: for to the creature's back the young reſort, after being hatched from eggs like pin-heads, in a ſmall web ſpun by the female. The ſting of the land-ſcorpion is not accounted fatal, but occaſions a violent pain, and throws the patient into a fever: it is ſaid they change their ſkins, as crabs do their ſhells. The ſcorpions generally frequent old trees and old furniture, and are often found amongſt dry rubbiſh and faded graſs.

Almoſt the firſt accidents that I ſaw here was a poor fellow, a marine, going to bathe in the river, who was inſtantly ſnapt away by a large *alligator*. I no ſooner beheld him ſink and diſappear, than having ſtripped, I actually dived after the poor man, by the help of a long oar, which a negro held perpendicular under water for the purpoſe, conſtantly taking care to keep all my limbs in motion. However I found him not, and tugging the oar as a ſignal to pull it up, the fellow, by miſcomprehenſion, puſhed both it and myſelf down with ſuch violence, that we did not riſe again to the ſurface till near the middle of the ſtream, which carried down the oar, while I regained the ſhore by ſwimming and very great exertion.

On the 20th, being now once more ordered to march on diſcovery to *Gado-Saby*, I ſet out at ſix o'clock in the morning, with two ſubaltern officers, three ſerjeants,

ſeven

ſeven corporals, and fifty privates, beſides a ſurgeon, and the noted free negro Gouſary (whom we loſt for three or four hours) and encamped near the banks of the ſame creek, not having been able to advance above ſix miles due weſt from its mouth.

On the 21ſt we marched north for about ſeven or eight miles, without meeting with one drop of *water* to alleviate our burning thirſt, it being at this time in the very heart of the dry ſeaſon, which this year was more ſcorching than I ever remembered it before.

Having now changed my courſe to the north-eaſt, and paſſed the quagmire, about noon the following day we marched *dry* through the late fatal marſh, and an hour after we kept due weſt; when, falling in with a large field of yams, we demoliſhed it; then proceeding forward, I encamped in the old ſettlement Cofaay, almoſt choked for want of water, not having met with any thing like it from the moment we ſat out. Here, however, the negro ſlaves found means to procure us ſome, which, though ſtagnant and ſtinking like a kennel, we drank, ſtraining it through our ſhirt-ſleeves.

During this march, I neverthele ſs took notice of the following trees, not yet deſcribed, *viz.* the *canavatepy*, and the *berklack*, which are extremely fit for domeſtic uſe. The firſt is beautifully ſtriped, black and brown, and has much the appearance of that uſually called brazil, while it diffuſes a ſmell in working not inferior to that of a carnation. The ſecond is a pale red or pink colour, and is equally

CHAP. XXVIII.

equally good for almoſt every purpoſe. I was this day alſo preſented with a ſingular kind of fruit, called here the *marmalade box*, being about the ſize of a large apple, rather oval, and all covered over with down. This fruit in the beginning is green, and when ripe it turns to a brown colour: the huſk is hard, and by a certain motion opens in halves like a walnut, when the pulp appears like that of a medlar, being a ſweet brown ſubſtance, and adhering to large kernels, which the inhabitants ſuck off with avidity; and from this it derives the above name. As I took no particular notice of the tree, I am ſorry not to have it in my power to give any account of it whatſoever.

The 23d I marched eaſt from Cofaay, with a view of obtaining ſome freſh accounts of the rebels; and proceeded by a path of communication through cultivated fields, but fell in with nothing, ſome delightful views, and a large herd of *warree* hogs, excepted, which from the gnaſhing of their teeth and their ſtamping the ground before we ſaw them, we had actually miſtaken for a ſtraggling party of the enemy, and had conſequently freſh-primed, and prepared to engage them.

About noon we returned to *Gado-Saby*, where, ſitting down to reſt from our fatigue, a tall *old rebel negro* appeared ſuddenly in the very midſt of us, with a long white beard, a white cotton ſheet tied about his ſhoulders, and a broken cutlaſs in his hand. Seeing this venerable apparition, I inſtantly ſtarted up, and forbidding my

people

people to fire at him, I civilly desired him to approach me, pledging myself that no person under my command should dare to hurt him; but that he should have every thing for his relief that I could afford.—He answered, "No, no, massera!" with the utmost deliberation, and shaking his head in an instant disappeared; while two of my men (contrary to my orders) fired after him, at the distance of perhaps six paces only, yet both missed their object, to my great satisfaction, he being a poor forsaken creature, that had been left behind the rest, gleaning a precarious subsistence from his own deserted fields which we had formerly destroyed. What renders the negroes so difficult to hit with a ball is this, that they never run straight forward, but *zig-zag*, like the forked lightning in the elements.

I now, to fulfil my orders, once more ransacked Cosaay, with its adjoining plains, though with a sore heart, on account of the poor lonely old rebel. Here, having cut down several cotton and plantain-trees, okeor or althea, pigeon-pease, maize, pine-apples, and some rice, most of which had spontaneously sprung up again since our last devastation, I could not help leaving, before *a little shed*, where was some fresh ashes and banana shells, a few rusk biscuits and a good piece of salt beef, as also a bottle of new rum, for the unfortunate solitary old man, this being his retreat; after which we once more encamped in the fields of Cosaay.

Having so frequently mentioned *rice*, it may be expected

CHAP. XXVIII.

pected that I ſhould ſay ſomething concerning its growth and cultivation. It riſes to the height of four feet, with furrowed ſtalks, and in appearance is not unlike wheat, but the ſtalks are knotted by intervals, and ſtronger; the leaves are like thoſe of reeds: the ſeeds are produced ſomewhat like barley, and grow on each ſide of the ſpikes or ears alternately. The *oryza* or rice is cultivated in a warm and marſhy ſoil; the grains are oval, and if good ought to be white, hard, and tranſparent. As for the uſe of this commodity for food, it is ſo well known, that I ſhall only ſay, that without this grain our poor marines muſt long ago have all been ſtarved, particularly in Auguſt 1775; when, for all allowance, they got *per* day *one* ruſk biſcuit, and *three* ſpikes of maize or Indian corn, for *five men*; rice alone ſupplying, as I have intimated, the reſt of the allowance.

Having now fully compleated my commiſſion, I, with my detachment, marched back for the Caſſeepore Creek, directing my courſe through the ruined fields of Gado-Saby, which were at preſent choked up to a perfect wilderneſs. Hence we kept firſt to the ſouth-weſt, and then due ſouth, after which we flung our hammocks near a former encampment. It is to be obſerved, that at this time all the marſhes were nearly dry, on account of the hotteſt ſeaſon I ever remember; while the fœtid ſmell occaſioned by the quantities of dead warrapa fiſh, that had been deſerted by the water, was an intolerable nuiſance. From amongſt theſe putrid fiſhes, our negro

ſlaves

CHAP. XXVIII.

ſlaves nevertheleſs ſelected the moſt tolerable, which, fried in the evening, ſerved them for a delicate morſel.

The morning following we again marched ſouth-weſt by weſt, when we ſlung our hammocks not above four miles from the Caſſepore Creek; and on the 26th (keeping ſouth-ſouth-weſt) we arrived in the *grand camp*, much fatigued and emaciated, myſelf with a ſwelled face or eryſipelas; when I gave in my journal to Lieutenant-Colonel de Borgnes, who commanded *: and I believe, upon my honour, that had we been ordered to remain twenty years on this expedition, with a poſſibility of ſaving our lives, the different diſeaſes, plagues, and torments, would ſtill have accumulated and varied without end.

A detachment of fifty men was next ſent out to reconnoitre at Jeruſalem, &c.; and on the 6th of December the long-expected *relief*, conſiſting of three hundred and fifty men, arrived in the river Surinam from Holland, after a voyage of nine weeks and three days, of which they ſpent a fortnight at Plymouth.

By theſe the unfortunate account was brought, that Captain *Jochem Meyer* (who had on board a conſiderable ſum of money for our troops) was taken by the Moors, and carried with his crew to *Morocco*, where they were condemned to be ſlaves to the emperor †; and that the

* See the above route, and all the others to *Gado-Saby*, in Plate LVI. where they are by different lines diſtinctly marked.

† The above captain and his crew were ſince ſet at liberty, having been ranſomed by the Dutch.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ſhip *Paramaribo*, Captain *Spruyt* (being one of the veſſels that carried over the ſick in the beginning of Auguſt) was wrecked and entirely loſt in the channel, on the rocks of *Uſhant*; but that, by the exertions of ſome French fiſhing-boats, the crew and troops had all been ſaved, and carried into Breſt, whence they had taken a freſh paſſage for the Texel; after which the Prince of Orange (who was ever diſtinguiſhed for benevolence, and doing good and humane actions) ordered the officers and private men, above one hundred in number, to receive the following ſums, by way of defraying their loſs, *viz.* each marine received about four, the ſubalterns thirty, the captains forty, and Major *Medlar*, who commanded, fifty pounds ſterling. However, by this ſhipwreck, I loſt all my three cheſts of ſweetmeats and pickles, beſides parrots, butterflies, monkies, &c. intended as preſents to my friends in Europe, which indiſcriminately went to the bottom, to *my* no ſmall mortification.

Having now for above a month been lodged in a paltry hut, beaten by the wind and ſhowers of rain (which began to ſet in unexpectedly); and being informed, that notwithſtanding the arrival of the relief, we were ſtill to ſtay ſome time longer in the woods, which broke many hearts; I, on the 12th of December, earneſtly ſet about building for myſelf a comfortable houſe, and which was finiſhed, without either nail or hammer, in leſs than ſix days, though it had two rooms, a piazza with rails, and a

ſmall

ſmall kitchen, beſides a garden, in which I ſowed, in pepper-creſſes, the names of Joanna and John; while my next-door neighbour, who was my friend Captain *Bolts*, måde ſhift to keep a goat, and thus we lived not altogether uncomfortably. Others kept hens and ducks, but not a *cock* was to be ſeen in the camp; for theſe, having firſt had all their tongues cut out to prevent their crowing (though to no purpoſe) had been ſince condemned to loſe their heads. In ſhort, our gentlemen built a row of very curious houſes indeed, all projecting from the beech; while, on the oppoſite ſide, above a hundred green huts being conſtructed to receive the new-come troops, the whole together formed no contemptible ſtreet, though it muſt be confeſſed its inhabitants were little better than ſcare-crows.

What was moſt remarkable in my own habitation, however, was its entry, which was not by the door, nor yet by the window, but only by the roof, where I crept in and out, allowing abſolutely no other admittance; and by this contrivance alone I was effectually guarded from thoſe frequent viſitors who ſmelt my pancakes, and uſed to make too free with my eggs and bacon, beſides interrupting me while I was drawing, writing, or reading. Upon the whole, I muſt acknowledge, that this encampment was agreeable enough (more ſo as being on elevated ground), had it not been for the peſtilential damps and mephitic vapours that exhale conſtantly from the earth, and had already ſent numbers to the other world.

During this ſhort ſpace of tranquillity I conſtructed in miniature my cottage in which I lived at the Hope, on an oblong board of about eighteen inches by twelve, which being entirely made of the manicole-tree and branches, like the original, was eſteemed a maſter-piece; and this I ſent as a preſent to my friend Mr. de Graaff at Paramaribo, who ſince placed it in a cabinet of natural curioſities at Amſterdam. As I am upon this ſubject, I am tempted to preſent the reader with a view of two of my habitations, the one that at the Hope, where I ſpent ſuch happy days; and the other temporary, ſuch as in the woods we conſtructed to be ſheltered from the weather:—the firſt may be conſidered as the emblem of domeſtic felicity; the ſecond of ruſtick hardſhip and fatigue.

The troops of the *Society* of Surinam, who had been encamped at the Wana Creek (the rainy ſeaſon prematurely ſetting in) now wiſely broke up, and on the 26th paſſing by us, rowed down the river Cottica on their way to the plantations in the Pirica Creek; but as for us, we were as uſual condemned to linger in the Caſſipore camp, while Fourgeoud ſtill kept ſnug at Paramaribo. With the above officers we received intelligence that a few more rebels had been taken at the Marawina; while we ourſelves daily continued to ſend out patroles to the right and left, but met with nothing to capture.

At laſt, on the 29th, ſix barges came to an anchor before our encampment, with part of the freſh troops that were arrived from Holland for our relief; which I could not help

Manner of Sleeping &c. in the Forest.

Rural Retreat — The Cottage —

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson, S.t Paul's Church Yard.

help viewing with compaſſion, and not without a cauſe, many of them being already attacked with the ſcurvy, and other loathſome diſeaſes. We however ſent for bricks, and built an oven to bake freſh bread, &c. and did all that was in our power to comfort them: having received alſo a ſupply of wine for my own uſe, I gave a hearty welcome to all the officers, to cheer their ſpirits; but this ill-fated liquor had an effect far different from what I intended on one of our captains, *P——t* by name, who, from ſome miſunderſtanding, challenged me to fight him inſtantly. Having retired to ſome diſtance from the camp, and drawing our ſabres, he burſt out into an immoderate fit of laughter, and throwing away his weapon, deſired me "to cut away; but that for his part he had "ſuch a real regard for me, that he felt it was impoſſible "for him to make any reſiſtance:" after which, catching me in both his arms, he gave me ſo hearty an embrace, that he had nearly ſtifled me, and I could not without the greateſt difficulty get diſentangled. Being recovered from my ſurprize, I could not help ſmiling in my turn; and after a friendly reprimand re-conducted my valiant opponent to the company, where we cloſed the year with the greateſt mirth and conviviality.

A confounded tumble through my hammock having uſhered in the morning of 1777, we went to the commanding officer of the camp, to pay him the compliments of the ſeaſon; where I was ſhown the *philander*,

or

[library stamp]

CHAP. XXVIII.

or *Mexican oppoſſum*, here called *awaree*, which had been juſt taken alive, and with all its young.

I have already mentioned the murine oppoſſum; thus ſhall now only deſcribe ſuch peculiarities as I was able to remark, and which were indeed but few in number, the animal being in the bottom of an empty hogſhead when I ſaw it, its biting preventing me to take it in my hand.— In the firſt place, it was much larger than the former, this being the ſize of an over-grown Norway rat: the colour was a yellowiſh grey all over, and the belly and limbs a dirty white; the muzzle was more blunt than that of the murine oppoſſum, with long whiſkers; its eyes not black but tranſparent, with a black ring round the iris; the tail extremely long, thick, and hairy, particularly near the root, and its ſmell was very offenſive. This oppoſſum had a pouch under its belly, formed by the folding of the ſkin, which is hairy within as well as without; from this pouch I ſaw the young ones (five or ſix in number) ſeveral times run out, when the mother was not diſturbed, and as often run into it upon the ſmalleſt noiſe, or ſhaking the hogſhead.—As I pitied the poor creature, after its having been ſo long tormented, I ſuddenly kicked up the hogſhead, when the oppoſſum with all its young eſcaped, and ran ſwiftly up a very high tree before Colonel Seyburg's cottage, and there it hung by the tail to one of the branches; but as it is a dreadful deſtroyer of poultry, and the Colonel apprehended that

it would kill every one of his fowls, he ordered it, to my sorrow, to be shot down, with all its young ones.—The Virginian oppossum I never saw; and my only further remark on this shall be, that its activity very much surprized me, as many writers have denied it this quality. For further particulars, I refer the reader to the murine or mouse oppossum above-mentioned, as in most circumstances these two animals perfectly agree.

Among the destroyers of poultry, there is another animal in this country, known by the name of *quacy-quacy:* some call it the racoon, but which properly is the *coati-mondi*, or Brasilian weasel; though many people, with some degree of propriety, compare it to a fox, as it is often able to carry away a goose or a turkey, and is also extremely cunning. This creature is sometimes near two feet long, the body shaped like that of a dog, and commonly black, or rather dark brown, though many are of a bright bay colour: the tail is long, hairy, and annulated with black, and a deep buff; the breast and belly are a dirty white; the head is a light brown, with long jaws, and a black snout that projects upwards for near two inches, and is moveable like that of the tapira; the eyes are small, the ears are short and rounded, while on each side a curved stripe connects them and the muzzle; the legs of the coati are short, especially the foremost; the feet are very long, with five toes on each, and long claws, while the animal, like the bear, always walks on the heel, and stands on those behind. No quadrupeds (the mon-

kies

CHAP. XXVIII.

kies not excepted) are better climbers on the trees, where theſe creatures commit dreadful ravages amongſt birds-neſts, every ſmall animal which they can conquer becoming their prey. In the poultry-yards in particular they commit great devaſtations, on which account every contrivance that can be invented is put in practice to deſtroy them.

As I am upon the ſubject of animals, before I leave the woods I muſt deſcribe another creature, which inhabits them, and which (though more than twice the ſize of the laſt) lives chiefly on ants; this is the *great ant-eater*, or *ant-bear*, called alſo the *tamanoir*, and by the Spaniards the *oſa palmera*. The body of this animal is covered over with very long ſhaggy hair; on the back and belly it is black, and on the neck and ſides a grey or yellowiſh white; the head is extremely long and ſlender, of a light bay colour, with very ſmall eyes; the ears are ſhort and round, and the mouth (which has no teeth) juſt large enough to admit its tongue; the tail is of an enormous ſize, with very long black hair, ſomething like that of a horſe: with this extraordinary tail, when aſleep (which is generally in the day time, or during a hard ſhower of rain) the animal covers itſelf like a ſquirrel; at other times he trails it along, and ſweeps the ground. The limbs are ſlender, but covered with long hair; the hindmoſt legs being ſhorteſt and black, with five claws; thoſe before are of a dirty white, with but four claws, the two middle claws being of an extraordinary length.

The

The Tamandua, & Coati-Mondi.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

The great ant-eater is a very bad walker, refting always on the heel of his awkward long feet, like the coati and bear; but he is a better climber, and fo good a fighter, that no dog will hunt him, fince whatever animal he catches between his fore claws (nay even the jaguar or tiger) he will not releafe while he has life. His food, as I have faid, confifts of ants, which he takes in the following manner:—when he comes to an ant-hillock, he unfolds his flender tongue, which is about twenty inches long, moft exactly refembling a worm; this being covered over with a clammy matter or faliva, the ants get upon it in great numbers, and by drawing it into his mouth, he fwallows thoufands all alive, and renews the operation, till no more are to be found, when he marches in queft of another mountain, and in the fame manner deftroys the unwary inhabitants. He alfo climbs in queft of woodlice and wild honey; but fhould he meet with little fuccefs in his devaftations, he is able to faft a confiderable time without the fmalleft inconvenience. It is faid that the great ant-bear is tameable, and that then he will pick crumbs of bread, and fmall pieces of flefh; alfo that when killed, he affords good food to the Indians and negroes, the laft of which I have feen devour his flefh with pleafure. Some ant-bears meafure, from the fnout to the tip of the tail, no lefs than eight feet.—See the two laft-defcribed animals in the plate annexed.

A fmall fpecies of ant-bear, called the *tamandua*, is alfo found in Surinam, though not very common. This

CHAP. XXVIII.

differs from the former in having twenty toes, the head being thicker in proportion, and the tail ſmaller, which is variegated with bands of black and yellowiſh white.— A leſſer ſpecies ſtill is called the *fourmillier*, which, however, never came within my obſervation.—But to proceed.

On the 3d, ſix more barges with troops came up from Paramaribo, which compleated the number of three hundred and fifty men arrived from Holland. Amongſt theſe, being informed there was a Captain *Charles Small*, come from the Scots Brigade, this gentleman having exchanged with poor Enſign Macdonald (who was ſent over ſick) I inſtantly ſculled down the river alone in a canoe to meet him, and offer him my aſſiſtance. I had no ſooner got on board his barge, than I found him ſuſpended in a hammock with a burning fever. He, not knowing me on account of my dreſs, which was no better than that of the moſt ragged ſailor, aſked me what I wanted; but when he ſaw in me his poor friend *Stedman*, changed from a ſtout ſprightly young fellow, to a miſerable debilitated tatterdemallion, he graſped me by the hand, without uttering a word, and burſt into tears: which agitation, while it increaſed his illneſs, ſhewed the goodneſs of his heart to me, more than any thing he could have uttered on the ſubject.—“ D—n your blubbering, Charles!” ſaid I; “ turn out of this ſtinking cockle-ſhell: I'll preſently “ cure thee;”—and getting him hoiſted into my canoe, I brought him on ſhore to my own habitation, but with

§ the

the greateſt difficulty, being obliged to thruſt him through a crevice made on purpoſe, as the hole in the roof was not calculated even for any healthy perſon's admittance, myſelf excepted. Having here flung his hammock near to my own, and boiled ſome water, I treated him with warm grog and a toaſted biſcuit, and he became much better from that very moment. He now acquainted me that one of his men was drowned on the paſſage; and that Colonel Fourgeoud having entertained the officers with a ball after their landing, at which one of his cooks, and a couple of meagre marines, had been the fidlers, he concluded his illneſs to be the conſequence of too much dancing. A little after this, Colonel Fourgeoud himſelf appearing in perſon in the camp amongſt us, he ſoon, however, entertained us with muſick of a different kind; which was no leſs than the diſcouraging news, that by the newly-arrived corps of officers ſeveral of us had loſt our rank (both in the regiment and in the army) after parching above four years in a burning ſun, toiling ourſelves almoſt to death, and ſubſiſting upon ſtinking meat and black ruſk. To add to this grievance, while the above gentlemen uſurped our preferment, we were, inſtead of being relieved, ordered to continue in the woods, in order to teach them their duty.

During the above unpleaſing probation, the major's duty again fell to my ſhare; which was at this time extremely diſagreeable, being obliged daily to chaſtiſe the men, many of whom pilfered the magazine to alleviate

 hunger,

CHAP. XXVIII.

hunger, having been without the article of bread for *seven* days, the oven being dropped to pieces. Amongſt others, one poor fellow was nearly flogged to death for having *borrowed* one of the colonel's Bologna ſauſages; for, let it be remembered, that our commander in chief, whatever might be the diſtreſs and hardſhips of the reſt, never forgot to ſupport *his own* dignity, by at leaſt half a dozen of ſtout negroes loaded with bacon hams, Bologna ſauſages, bullocks tongues, tea, coffee, ſugar, Madeira wine, Holland's gin, &c.—

> Courage may prompt, but, ebbing out his ſtrength,
> Mere unſupported man muſt yield at length:
> Shrunk with dry famine, and with toils declin'd,
> The drooping body will deſert the mind;
> But built anew with health-conferring fare,
> With limbs and ſoul untam'd, *he* tires a war.

At length, on the 8th, a barge arrived, not only with a ſupply of ſalt beef and ruſk, but a bullock and two hogs, as a preſent from Mr. *Felman*, who, accompanied by his lady, &c. came actually on a viſit to Fourgeoud, in this very ſtrange encampment. The above animals being immediately killed, they were diſtributed among four hundred people; ſo that it may well be conceived the ſhares, though ſweet, were not very large, after which the company walked about to view our different habitations. Being arrived at my dwelling, Fourgeoud led them round and round, but ſeeing no door to get in, he called out, "Nobody at home?" When I in-

I inſtantly thruſt my head through the thatch, with a pan-cake in my hand, and offered to haul in the ladies; but this they civilly declined. I never ſaw Fourgeoud laugh ſo much in my life. As ſoon, however, as he was able to recover his gravity, he exclaimed, "*Sacre Dieu! Il faut être* "*Stedman,—il faut être original comme lui*;" and re-conducted the company to his own apartment, where he gave me an invitation to follow them. Indeed, when Captain Small and I went out, we generally ſpent our time in a beautiful ſavannah, where we had erected a green ſhed, to be free in converſation, and called it *Ranelagh*; here we carouſed and cracked a bottle in private, till we could crack no longer, having lived ſo well that in a little time more than a week my cheeſe and bacon hams quite diſappeared, and not a drop of wine or rum was left in the flaſks.—After this he, as well as I, were obliged to live on ſhort allowance; while Small had the ſatisfaction, however, to ſee his ſhip-mates do the ſame: who, not being acquainted with the œconomy neceſſary in a foreſt, had made all their flour into plum-pudding, and were already obliged to break their teeth on a piece of rye ruſk.

In ſhort, ſo early as the 12th, one hundred and fifty of theſe newly-arrived people were already ordered to march; when, by the way of ſeaſoning them, beſides heavy accoutrements and a hammock, they had orders each man to carry a ſtuffed knapſack on his back. Of this party, my friend Small happened to be one, who being as corpulent as *Sir John Falſtaff*, and I having accoutred him in the above manner,

CHAP. XXVIII.

manner, the poor fellow could hardly walk at all; till declaring to Fourgeoud that I muſt roll him along like a hogſhead, he got leave to be diſengaged from a part of his unweildy encumbrances.

Every thing being ready, this loaded detachment now faced to the right, and ſet out, with Colonel Fourgeoud at their head, for the river Marawina: and while I muſt here acknowledge that this chief was now become to myſelf as civil as I could expect or deſire, yet juſtice compels me to add, that to all others he remained juſt as inflexible a tyrant as ever I had known him; which character he unhappily ſeemed to think incompatible with his rank.

During their abſence, I croſſed the water, and cut down a cabbage-tree on the other ſide of the river Cottica, not only for the cabbage, but for the ſake of the *groe-groe* worms, with which I knew it would ſwarm in about a fortnight.

Straying here through the woods with my black boy Quaco, I met with the following trees, ſtill left for deſcription, *viz.* the *cedar*, the *brown-heart*, and the *bullet-tree*. The firſt, though it bears that name, is different from the cedars of Lebanon, which grow in a pyramidical form. The Surinam cedar, however, grows alſo to a great height, but is principally eſteemed becauſe the wood is never eaten by the worms or other inſects, on account of its great bitterneſs; it has alſo a moſt agreeable ſmell, and is therefore uſed in preference to moſt others for making cheſts, cupboards, lockers, and all ſorts

of

of joinery; beſides which, it is employed in making the tent-barges and other boats. The colour of the timber is a pale orange: it is both hard and light, and from the trunk exudes a gum (not unlike the gum Arabic) which is tranſparent, and diffuſes a moſt agreeable flavour.

The *brown-heart* is in hardneſs of the ſame conſiſtency as the purple-heart, and the green-heart already mentioned, and is ſhaped into heavy timber for the ſame purpoſes, ſuch as conſtructing ſugar-mills, &c.: the colour of this wood is a beautiful brown.—The other is the *bullet-tree*; this tree grows ſometimes to ſixty feet, but is not ſo thick in proportion as many others: the bark is grey and ſmooth, the timber brown, variegated or powdered with white ſpecks. No wood in the foreſt is equal to this in weight, being heavier than ſea-water, and ſo very durable, that when expoſed to the open air neither rain or ſun have any effect on it; for this reaſon, beſides its other various uſes, it is ſplit into *ſhingles* to roof the houſes, inſtead of ſlates or tiles, which, as I formerly mentioned, would be too heavy and too hot. Theſe ſhingles are ſold for £.4 ſterling a thouſand at Paramaribo, and continue ſometimes twenty-four years before they are renewed.

I ought to mention alſo a kind of mahogany, which is found in the woods of Guiana, called the *ducolla-bolla*, and which is of a ſuperior quality to any which is imported here, being of a deeper red colour, and of a finer, more equal, and compact grain; alſo of greater hardneſs

and

CHAP. XXVIII. and weight, and thus capable of receiving a more elegant polish.

About this period the whole camp was infested with a kind of *wood-lice*, so called in Surinam, but with more propriety they might be termed white ants, resembling them almost in every particular, except that the ants dwell in the ground, and these build their nests on the trunks of trees: these nests, being black, round, and irregular, are not unlike the woolly head of a negro, but sometimes as large as the half of a hogshead, and composed of a rust-coloured incrustated earth, which is extremely hard, and impenetrable to the weather. In this mass, which internally consists of innumerable cross roads, each the size of a goose-quill, they live together in myriads, whence they sally forth, and commit their depredations, unequalled by any other insect in Guiana, piercing through the hardest wood, leather, linen, or whatever comes in their way. They also frequently get into the houses by an incrusted covered road made against the wall, resembling the half of a sliding pencil, which is with its windings sometimes several hundred feet long: if this is not destroyed upon its first appearance (which must be done by arsenick or the oil of turpentine) as they crumble every thing to dust, whole dwellings will be entirely demolished, and come down to the ground in rubbish. These insects (notwithstanding their fetid abominable smell) are reckoned a very good food for poultry, who are said to thrive on them even better than on Indian

dian corn. I ought not to forget their extreme induſtry in repairing their habitation when injured, and their wonderful power of propagation, which (let ever ſuch numbers be deſtroyed) brings them in a very ſhort time to their former unaccountable multiplicity.

To another peſt we were alſo frequently ſubjected in this camp, and this was no leſs than clouds of *flying lice*, which covered our clothes ſometimes ſo thick, that they abſolutely gave them the appearance of grey cloth. This was owing to the ſhedding of their wings, which, being four in number; they generally left behind them after they alighted, and being thus without the means of flying off again, they remained on our jackets; except however thus covering us all over, they cauſed us no other inconvenience. It is the opinion of ſome naturaliſts, that theſe flying lice are no other than the abovementioned wood-lice, which when they become old get wings, leave their neſts, and fly about, like ſome other ants, both in Europe and in America.

About this time the diſcipline was peculiarly ſtrict in the camp, ſo that whoever made the very leaſt noiſe was moſt ſeverely puniſhed, nay, threatened to be ſhot; and even the ſentinels were ordered to challenge rounds and patrols by no other ſound than *whiſtling*, which was anſwered in the ſame manner.

On the 18th, one of theſe being condemned to be flogged for ſpeaking loud, I however found means (Fourgeoud not being yet returned) to get him pardoned, after

 he

he was already ſtripped. The following day, nevertheleſs, evinced that I could puniſh when things were carried too far; for ſeeing a large piece of boiled pork (about two pounds weight) flying paſt me with great velocity, and finding it was thrown by one marine to another, while they had got a quarrel, I inſtantly ordered them to pick it up, and (having cut it in two) I ſtood over them myſelf till they ſwallowed every morſel of it in my preſence, ſand and all, without either bread or drink: which they ſince declared was ſuch a puniſhment as ſurpaſſed my conception, and they ſhould remember it to the end of their lives.

On the 23d, I received from town a well-timed ſupply of wine and freſh proviſions; and the ſame day Colonel Fourgeoud, with his detachment, arrived from the Marawina. During this trip, our active commander had again diſcovered and deſtroyed fifty-nine houſes, beſides three fields of proviſions. This certainly gave the finiſhing blow to the rebel negroes, ſince, having no further ſupply on this ſide the water, they entirely abandoned it, and went to ſettle in the French colony *Cayenne*. In this hard though neceſſary ſervice the men had ſuffered prodigiouſly, eſpecially thoſe newly arrived; numbers of whom were carried in hammocks on poles, while near thirty were left ſick at the Marawina, and my friend Small was at leaſt one ſtone lighter.

At this time, in the camp hoſpital, above one hundred were alſo dangerouſly ill. Nothing was heard but ſighs and

and the ſhrieking of the *ſtrix* or Guiana owl, which for ever kept them company during the diſmal nights. Cramps, ſo common in Surinam, alſo infeſted thoſe that were able to do duty; and there reigned a general melancholy all around.

——— "The circling ſky,
"The wide enlivening air, is full of fate;
"And, ſtruck by turns, in ſolitary pangs
"They fall, untended and unmourn'd."

Here one man was to be ſeen covered over with bloody boils from head to foot; there another led along by two of his comrades in a deep lethargy, who, in ſpite of pinching and pricking, doſed into eternity; a third, ſwelled by the dropſy, and imploring the ſurgeon in vain to tap off the water (who generally anſwered that it was too late) was left to expire by ſuffocation. In the hoſpital ſome were obſerved claſping their hands, and praying aloud to God to be relieved; while others lay at their ſide in a frenzy fever, tearing their hair, blaſpheming Providence, and curſing the day that they were born.—In ſhort, all was dreadful beyond deſcription, by the pen of a *Milton* excepted.

——— "Sad noiſome dark,
"A lazar-houſe it ſeem'd, wherein were laid
"Numbers of all, diſeas'd: all maladies
"Of ghaſtly ſpaſm or racking torture; qualms
"Of heart-ſick agony, all feverous kinds,

 "Convulſions,

CHAP. XXVIII.

"Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs;
"Demoniac frenzy, moping melancholy,
"And moon-struck madness; pining atrophy,
"Dropsies, and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums:
"Dire was the tossing, deep the groans; despair
"Tended the sick, busiest from couch to couch.
"And over them triumphant Death his dart
"Shook, but delay'd to strike, though oft invok'd
"With vows, as their chief good and final hope."

From day to day mortality now gained ground, while by some accident, to compleat the distress, part of the camp got on fire; but this was fortunately extinguished without any material ill consequences, by the activity and exertions of the poor negroes.

On the 26th *my* misery, however, drew towards an end, when, to my astonishment, and without my asking it, Colonel Fourgeoud gave me a leave of absence, if I chose it, to accompany him, and stay henceforth at Paramaribo; which, without hesitation, I most joyfully accepted. Thus, having made my friend Captain Small a present of my *house*, my *Ranelagh*, and all my *fresh provisions*, besides entertained him and some other officers on a dish of mountain-cabbage, and my *groe-groe* worms, which were just come to perfection, besides a hearty glass of wine, I took my last adieu from them all; and at midnight, with Colonel Fourgeoud, rowed down the River Cottica in an elegant barge with ten oars, in company with two more of his officers.—And now farewell once more, ye shady

woods,

woods, thou pleaſing gloomy foreſt, pregnant with ſo many wonders, and ſo many plagues, and which, in the opinion of ſo many ſufferers, even ſurpaſſed the *ten plagues of Egypt!* *

———————" I have ſent among you the peſtilence after the
" manner of Egypt: your young men have I ſlain with the ſword—
" I have made the ſtink of your camps to come up unto your
" noſtrils: yet have ye not returned unto me, ſaith the Lord."

The boat being ſhoved off, Colonel Fourgeoud now declared to us, that having ranſacked the foreſt in every direction, and driven the rebels over the Marawina in *Cayenne*, he was determined no more to return to the woods, but in a few weeks to draw the long and painful expedition to a concluſion.

Now, reader, it remains with you to acknowledge that I have not led you *about the buſh*, but *through it*, with indefatigable perſeverance: the more ſo, when it is to be conſidered that in the middle of the above hurry and diſtreſs, under which ſo many have ſunk, I have often been deprived of *pen*, *ink*, and *paper* to make proper annotations; which laſt defect I have even more than once ſupplied by writing with a pencil on my cartridges, or on a bleached *bone:* had this not been unavoidably the caſe, more accuracy and many more remarks might with

* Should it be remarked that during this expedition ſome unchriſtian-like expreſſions have eſcaped, let it be at the ſame time recollected, that while ſurgeons and even çooks, though both of little uſe, had been provided, nothing like a *parſon* was ever ſeen amongſt us, from the day we ſailed from the Texel.

juſtice

CHAP. XXVIII.

juftice have been expected, which one need never be at a lofs to make in a country fo replete with different objects for fpeculation.

Having rowed all night, and breakfafted at the new cordon (which was begun to be cut not far from our former poft Devil's Harwar) on a dram and a bifcuit, we came about noon to the eftate *Lapaix*, where we dined with the planter, Monfieur *Rivieres*; after which Fourgeoud, with his adjutant, proceeded on their voyage to town, while I with another officer went to the fea-fide at the back of the plantation to fhoot fnipes and curlews.

On our march thither and back again, paffing two pofts of the Society, the flag was hoifted, refrefhments offered us, and every other civility fhewn us that was in the power of the commanding officers. In fhooting, however, we had very little fport, except that of killing fome *fnipes*, which flew in fuch clouds that they almoft darkened the fky; fo that by only firing from time to time above our heads at random, we brought down fcores at every fhot, but they were of fuch a diminutive fpecies, that they were fcarcely worth the picking up. We might have here killed birds of greater fize, fuch as *fpoon-bills*, *cranes*, *red curlews*, and *wild ducks* of many kinds, had we not unluckily been cut off from the banks on which they were fcattered, by the fea overflowing the quickfands betwixt us and them. They afforded us, neverthelefs, a moft delightful view, the beech appearing at a diftance like a fheet of fcarlet and purple, embroidered with every other colour.

The

CHAP. XXVIII.

The *ſhoveler* or ſpoon-bill (which has ſome affinity to the cranes) is about the ſize of a gooſe: the legs are not very long, and it is web-footed but for a little way between the toes: the feathers are a beautiful roſe-colour, though they are white when young; but the bill is truly remarkable in this bird, being flat, much broader before than at any other part, and circular, in ſome degree reſembling a ſpoon, from which it takes its name. They are ſaid to feed on frogs, rats, and lizards, yet fiſh is evidently their principal nouriſhment, from their frequenting the ſea-ſide, and having a fiſhy taſte when they are killed.

The *crane* or *jabiru* of Surinam, I can beſt compare to a ſtork, of which it has much the appearance, but is larger. The body of this bird is milk white, but the prime feathers of the wings and tail are black: the limbs and toes are exceſſively long; but I obſerved one peculiarity which diſtinguiſhes it from all other birds, *viz.* that it frequently ſits upon the heel: the neck and bill are of an uncommon length, the latter being ſtrong, and a little hooked at the point. The head of the crane or jabiru is perfectly black, on account of which, among the Dutch, it obtained the appellation of a *negro-cop*. It frequents the coaſt, like the others above mentioned, and lives entirely on fiſh: this bird is eaſily tamed. I have ſeen a couple of them in the poultry-yard belonging to Colonel Fourgeoud.—(See both theſe ſpecies of ſea-fowls in the *plate annexed*, where the laſt is repreſented ſitting in the poſture I have deſcribed.)

CHAP. XXVIII.

To delineate the different ſpecies of wild ducks that are in Surinam with any degree of accuracy, is a taſk which I acknowledge to be far beyond my reach. Suffice it therefore to ſay, that in general they are not very large, but adorned with the moſt ſplendid tints and moſt beautiful plumage that can be imagined, particularly thoſe they call the *cawereerkee*, the *ſookooroorkee*, and the *annakee*, which laſt are the ſmalleſt. No water-fowl of any kind, without exception, can be more delicate eating than all thoſe I have juſt mentioned; while ſome of them are tameable, and frequently ſeen amongſt the poultry on the plantations.

Having the following day the opportunity of a boat, I proſecuted my voyage down the Cottica River till I came to Paramaribo, where in fine ſpirits and perfect health (however ſtrange) I arrived that very ſame evening, and where I was moſt heartily welcomed by my many friends with the warmeſt congratulations on my ſtill exiſting, after having eſcaped ſo many dangers, and been ſo long deprived of every comfort—torn by thorns, ſtung by inſects—ſtarved, tormented, emaciated, and wounded—often without clothes, health, reſt, money, refreſhments, medicines, or friends;—and after having loſt ſo many of my brave companions, who lay buried in the duſt.——Thus ended my ſeventh and *laſt* campaign in the foreſt of Guiana.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Some Account of a remarkable Negro.—The Troops prepare for Europe.—Defcription of a Coffee Plantation.—Plan of Reform for the Increafe of Population, and univerfal Happinefs.—One more Inftance of horrid Barbarity; and Example of Humanity.—The Regiment embarks.

CHAP. XXIX.

BEING now once more arrived in town, and wifhing to be no longer troublefome to any body, I hired a very neat fmall houfe by the water-fide, in which we lived nearly as happy as we had done at the Hope.

The firft perfon that vifited me here was the American Captain *Lewis*, of the *Peggy*, who, to my great concern, told me, that poor *Macdonald*, the grateful failor, had died on the homeward paffage, after being twelve days at fea; and defired him in his laft words to return me, with his good wifhes, the mother-of-pearl cork-fcrew I had formerly given him. He farther acquainted me alfo, to my forrow, that three Englifh veffels had been captured by the *American Revenue* privateer floop, which lay at this time, with her prizes, in the road before Paramaribo; one of which, belonging to Ireland, was valued at above £. 50,000 fterling.

Having been waited on by a number of planters and others

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

CHAP. XXIX.

others with congratulations on our ſucceſs againſt the rebels; amongſt the reſt appeared the celebrated *Gramman Quacy*, who came to ſhew me his fine coat, gold medal, &c. which he had received as a preſent from the Prince of Orange, in Holland. This man, being one of the moſt extraordinary characters of all the negroes in Surinam, or perhaps in the world, I cannot proceed without giving ſome account of him; the more ſo, as he has made his appearance once or twice already in the courſe of this hiſtory.—This African (for he was born on the coaſt of Guinea) by his inſinuating temper and induſtry, not only obtained his freedom from a ſtate of ſlavery, but by his wonderful ingenuity and artful conduct found the means of procuring a very competent ſubſiſtence.

Having got the name of a *lockoman*, or ſorcerer, among the lower ſlaves, no crime of any conſequence was committed, eſpecially at the plantations, but *Gramman Quacy*, which ſignifies Great-man Quacy, was inſtantly ſent for to diſcover the perpetrators, which he ſo very ſeldom miſſed, owing, in fact, to their faith in his ſorceries, added to his penetrating look * and authority among them, that he has often prevented farther miſchief to their maſters; and, for theſe ſervices, occaſionally received very capital rewards. The corps of rangers, and all fighting free negroes, are under his influence; to whom he ſells his *obias* or *amulets*, in order to make them in-

* See in Chapter XXV. the manner in which I myſelf diſcovered a thief.

vulnerable, and, of courſe, to engage without fear: by which deceit he has moſt certainly done much good to the colony, and at the ſame time filled his pockets with no inconſiderable profit to himſelf; while his perſon by the blacks is adored and reſpected like a God. The traſh of which his amulets are made coſts him in reality nothing; being neither more nor leſs than a collection of ſmall pebbles, ſea-ſhells, cut hair, fiſh-bones, feathers, &c. the whole ſewed up together in ſmall packets, which are tied with a ſtring of cotton round the neck, or ſome other part of the bodies of his credulous votaries.

But beſides theſe, and many other artful contrivances, he had the good fortune, in 1730, to find out the valuable root known by the name of *Quaciæ bitter*, of which he was actually the firſt diſcoverer, and from which it took its name: and, notwithſtanding this medicine is now leſs in repute in England than formerly, it is highly eſteemed in many other parts of the world for its efficacy in ſtrengthening the ſtomach and reſtoring the appetite. It has, beſides this valuable property, that of being a powerful *febrifuge*, and may be ſucceſsfully uſed when the bark is nauſeated, as is frequently the caſe.

In 1761, it was made known to *Linnæus* by Mr. *d'Ahlberg*, formerly mentioned; and the Swediſh naturaliſt has ſince written a treatiſe upon it. By this drug alone Quacy might have amaſſed riches, were he not entirely abandoned to indolence and diſſipation; the conſequence of which is, a complication of loathſome diſ-

 tempers,

CHAP. XXIX.

tempers, of which the leprofy is one: and that diforder is, as I have already ftated, abfolutely incurable. Neverthelefs his age, though he could not exactly afcertain it, muft have been very great, fince he ufed frequently to repeat that he acted as drummer, and beat the alarm on his mafter's eftate, when the French commodore, *Jacques Caffard*, put the colony under contribution, in the year 1712.

Having taken a portrait of this extraordinary man, with his grey head of hair, and dreffed in his blue and fcarlet with gold lace, I, in the annexed plate, beg leave to introduce it to the reader.

This very fame week we had indeed a frefh proof of the good effects of Gramman Quacy's animating obias or amulets, a captain of the rangers, named *Hannibal*, bringing in the barbacued hands of two rebel negroes, which he had himfelf encountered and fhot; and one of thefe hands proved to be that of the noted rebel *Cupido*, formerly taken, in 1774, and brought to Colonel Fourgeoud in the foreft, but from whom he had fince that time, though loaded with chains, found means to run away.

In returning the vifits of my friends, I paid one to Mr. *Andrew Reynfdorp*, who fhewed me the loop and button of his hat, which being diamond, had coft him two hundred guineas—fuch is the luxury of Surinam. But even this is exceeded by the magnificence of M. *d'Ahlbergh*, who, when I waited on him, befides a gold fnuff-box fet with

Blake Sculp.t

The celebrated Graman Quacy.

with brilliants, value fix hundred pounds fterling, made me remark two filver bits (fmall pieces of money) fet in gold, and furrounded with diamonds, with this infcription:

"Soli Deo Gloria. Fortuna beaticum, &c."

Having fignified my furprize at this peculiar attention and refpect to two fixpences, he declared to me that they were all the money he had in the world when he firft came to Surinam from his own country, *Sweden*.—"Did "you work?" faid I.—"No."—"Did you beg?"—"No." —"You did not fteal, fir?"—"No: but, *entre nous*, I "whined and acted the enthufiaft, which fometimes is "very neceffary, and I found preferable to the other "*three*."—To which I anfwered, "Sir, your candid con-"feffion brings back to my remembrance your ufage of "your negro flave, *Baron*, after having promifed him his "manumiffion in Amfterdam, and fully proves what "you have juft afferted."—One inftance more of the extravagance and folly of the inhabitants of this colony, and I have done: Two of them difputing about a moft elegant and expenfive carriage that was imported from Holland, a law-fuit enfued immediately, to determine who was to poffefs it, during which time the coach was left uncovered in the ftreet till it fell to pieces, and was totally deftroyed.

On the 10th of February, moft of our officers being now arrived at Paramaribo from the camp, Colonel Fourgeoud

CHAP. XXIX.

Fourgeoud entertained the whole with a feaſt, as he was pleaſed to call it, at the head-quarters; an old ſtable lanthorn, with broken panes of glaſs, hanging over our heads, which I expected every moment to drop into the ſoup. And here he acquainted us, with evident marks of ſatisfaction, that he had at laſt put a final end to the expedition; having, notwithſtanding there was ſo little bloodſhed, perfectly accompliſhed his aim in rooting out the rebels, by deſtroying TWENTY-ONE TOWNS or VILLAGES, and demoliſhing TWO HUNDRED FIELDS with vegetables of every kind, on which they depended for ſubſiſtence: alſo, that the intelligence was now confirmed, that the negroes were to a man fled over the River Marawina, where they and their friends were ſettled, and protected by the French colony of Cayenne, who not only gave them ſhelter, but ſupplied them with every thing they wanted. On which good news we all heartily congratulated him, and drank further proſperity to the colony of Surinam with three cheers; the future ſafety of which now depended on the new cordon or path of circumvallation, defended by the troops of the Society, and the corps of black ſoldiers or rangers.

In Dr. *Firmyn*'s works, Colonel Fourgeoud and his troops are twice mentioned as the ſaviours of the colony; and by the Abbé *Reynal* they are noticed as a very brave and valiant corps: compliments to which they are with truth entitled. And what cannot but redound to his honour, is, that at the time he impoſed ſuch hard-

ſhips

ſhips on his own troops, he never deliberately put a rebel negro captive to death, nor even, if he could avoid it, delivered them into the hands of juſtice; well knowing, that while it was his duty to expel them, nothing but the moſt barbarous uſage and tyranny had driven theſe poor people to this laſt extremity. Indeed I myſelf, whom during the firſt three years he perſecuted with unremitting ſeverity, muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that he was indefatigable in doing his duty; and that, though confuſed, I believe him at bottom to have been an undaunted and very BRAVE OFFICER.

He further acquainted us, that the veſſels, with a freſh ſupply of proviſions from Holland, had been caſt on the lee-ſhore in the Texel Roads, one of them having her upper cabin ſtove away, with the ſecond mate and three of her men waſhed overboard; he added, however, that part of the ſtores had been ſaved, and loaded on board two bilanders, which were this very day arrived in the River Surinam. And now, ſo much in particular was I become his favourite, that he even made me his confidant; and declared, that he propoſed keeping the laſt arrived troops, however faſt they were dying away (and who had lately loſt a man by ſtraying in the woods) encamped for many months after our departure. He then began to tell me what officers he meant, if poſſible, to ruin on their return, and which, by his recommendation, he intended to promote: but here I took the liberty to ſtop him ſhort, by declaring, upon my honour, that thoſe very gentlemen ſhould be appriſed by myſelf of their impending

CHAP. XXIX.

pending danger, if he persisted in carrying this cruel plan in execution. This at least had the effect to end the disagreeable conversation: when, in my turn, I added, "Sir, permit me farther to put you in remembrance of "these very troops you have just mentioned, in regard to "their truly distressed situation at the *Casseepore Creek*; "while their surgeon is gaining gold watches and diamond rings by curing fashionable diseases among the "gentry at Paramaribo." To which he replied, "*Vous* "*êtes un brave garçon*;" and promised to take my hints into consideration.

I was now invited once more by Captain Mackneal to spend a few days on his coffee estate, Sporksgift; but though I was prevented on this occasion from accepting the invitation, I will take this opportunity to describe that useful berry, which, not being a native of Guiana, it is said was first planted in Surinam by the Count *de Neale*, though others ascribe it to one *Hansbach*, a silver-smith, in 1720*.

The coffee-berry is the produce of an elegant tree, which is seldom allowed to grow higher than a man can reach, in order to facilitate the gathering of it. The bark of this tree is light brown, and the leaves like laurel, having a beautiful polish; with these it is thickly co-

* In 1554, the coffee berry first came to Constantinople from Arabia.—About the middle of the 16th century it was introduced in London; and in 1728, by Sir *Nicholas Laws*, it was planted in the island of Jamaica.

vered,

Sprig of the Coffee Tree.

London, Published Decr. 1st. 1791, by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

vered, the branches diverging from near the ſurface of the earth to the ſummit. The berries, which are oval, are firſt green, and gradually change their colour, till they are ripe, when they acquire a bright crimſon hue, like that of a cherry. In each of theſe berries are two kernels reſembling beans, lying flat upon each other. Of theſe a good tree is ſaid to produce three or four pounds weight at each crop; for this tree, like moſt other vegetable productions in this luxuriant climate, bears two crops every year. CHAP. XXIX.

To give the curious a better idea of this uſeful plant, I preſent him with a ſprig of it, copied from nature in the *annexed plate*;—in which the figure *A* refers to the wood, where it was cut off; *B* is the upper ſide of the leaf; *C* the lower ſide of the ſame; *D* is the berry juſt beginning to change; *E* the ſame in full perfection, being of a beautiful crimſon; and *F* the kernels or beans as they appear when they are diveſted of their huſk, and ready for exportation.

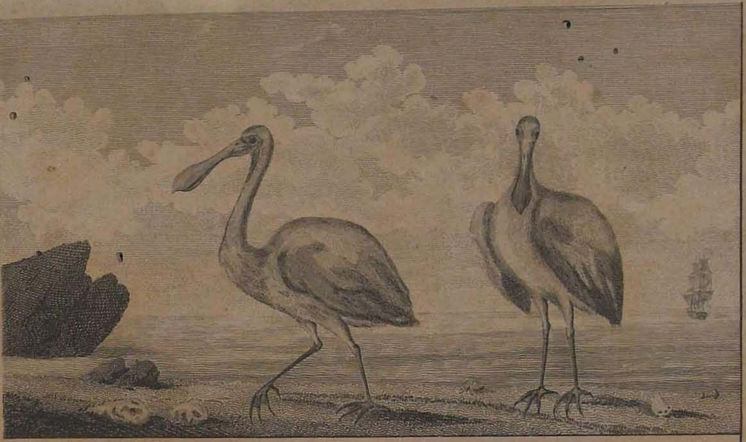
The buildings on a coffee eſtate are, firſt, the dwelling houſe, which is uſually ſituated for pleaſure near the banks of a river; and for convenience adjoining to it are erected the outhouſes for the overſeer and bookkeeper, with ſtore-houſes and ſmall offices: the other neceſſary buildings are a carpenter's lodge, a dock and boat-houſe, and two capital coffee-lodges, the one to bruiſe and ſeparate the pulp from the berries, the other to dry them; the reſt conſiſt of negro-houſes, a ſtable, hoſpital,

CHAP. XXIX.

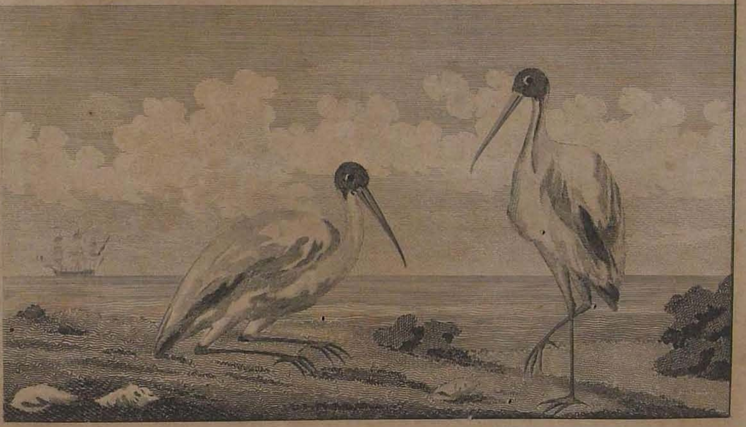
and warehoufes, which altogether appear like a fmall village. The coffee-lodge alone fometimes cofts five thoufand pounds fterling, and fometimes more. But to give a more complete idea of the whole apparatus, I muft refer to the *plate*, where all the buildings, fields, paths, gardens, floodgates, and canals are marked, and explained by the neceffary references. The plan, as exhibited in this plate, is intended to unite at once elegance, convenience, and fafety. It is elegant, as being perfectly regular; convenient, as having every thing at hand and under the planter's own infpection; and fafe, being furrounded by a broad canal, which by floodgates lets in the water frefh from the river, befides a draw-bridge, which during the night cuts off all communication from without.

I fhall now proceed to the planting-ground, which is divided into large fquare pieces, in each of which are generally two thoufand beautiful coffee-trees, growing at eight or ten feet diftance from each other. Thefe trees, which begin to bear at about the age of three years, are in their prime at fix, and continue to produce fruit till they are thirty; the manner of fupplying them being from good nurferies, which no coffee eftate is ever without, having already mentioned that they afford two crops every year, which is about Midfummer and Chriftmas.

At the times of harveft, it is not unpleafing to fee the negroes picking the crimfon berries among the polifhed green, where all ages and fexes are employed to fulfil their

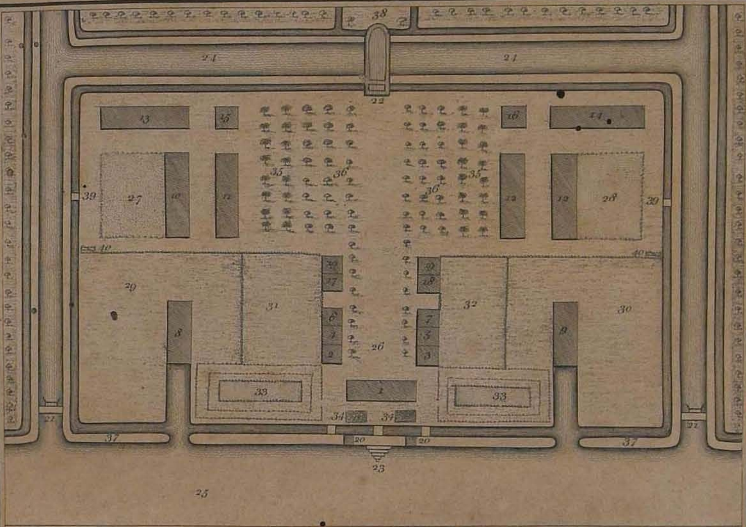


The Spoon Bill or Shoveler.



The Jabiru, or Crane of Guiana.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.



References to the Plan.

1. The Dwelling House
2. The Overseers Dwelling
3. The Book-keepers Office
4. The Kitchen
5. The Storehouse
6. The Poultry-house
7. The Hogs-sty
8. The Boat-house or small Dock
9. The Carpenters & Coopers Lodge
10. The Drying Lodge for the Coffee
11. The Bruising Lodge for do
12. The Negro-houses
13. The Horse Stables
14. The Fold for Sheep & Bullocks
15. The Great Guard house
16. The Hospital
17. The Pigeon-house
18. The Corn-house or Granary
19. The Necessary houses
20. The Sentry Boxes for Watchmen
21. The Floodgates
22. The Great Draw-bridge
23. The Landing Place
24. The Great Canals
25. The River or Creek
26. The Gravel walks
27. The Drying Floor for Coffee
28. The Negro Gardens
29. The Pasture for the Horses
30. The Pasture for the Sheep & Bullocks
31. The Poultry-yard
32. The Hogs-yard
33. The Kitchen Gardens
34. The Flower do
35. The Plantain Trees
36. The Groves of Orange Trees
37. The Dams & Gutters for Draining
38. The Path to enter the Fields
39. The Bridges over the Gutters
40. The Gates, Barriers, &c.

Plan of a regular Coffee Plantation.

T. Conder Sculpsit

London, Published Decr 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Paul's Church Yard.

taſk with ardour, when the youth who having firſt filled their baſkets, wantonly run naked, and play amongſt the luxuriant foliage.

I will now conduct them before the overſeer's preſence, where, all the baſkets being inſpected, the flogging commences, which is moſtly inflicted with impartial ſeverity on all who have not fulfilled their taſks, whether from idleneſs or incapacity. This ceremony concluded, the berries are carried home into the bruiſing-lodge, and the ſlaves return home to their houſes. The berries being bruiſed in a mill for that purpoſe, in the above lodge, to ſeparate the kernels from the huſks or pulpy ſubſtance, they are next ſteeped in water one night to cleanſe them, and then ſpread on the drying-floor, which is expoſed to the open air, and is conſtructed of flat ſtones; after which they are ſpread on garrets made for the purpoſe, to let them evaporate and dry internally, during which time they muſt be turned over every day with wooden ſhovels: this done, they are once more dried in large coolers or drawers, that run eaſily on rollers in and out of the windows, to prevent them from being overtaken by ſhowers of rain: then they are put into wooden mortars, and beaten by candle-light with heavy wooden peſtles, like the rice at Gado-Saby, to diveſt them of a thin coat or pellicle that unites the two kernels in the pulp. At this exerciſe the negroes wonderfully keep time, and always ſing a chorus. Being next ſeparated from the chaff through a bunt-mill, once more thoroughly dried on the

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

CHAP. XXIX.

coolers, and the whole beans picked from the bruifed, which laft are confumed in the colony: they are finally put into cafks or barrels, of about three or four hundred weight each, for exportation.

I fhall only farther obferve, that in Surinam fome coffee plantations produce above 150,000 pounds weight *per annum*; and that, as I have already mentioned, in the year before our arrival no lefs was exported to Amfterdam alone than 12,267,134 pounds of this valuable article, the prices of which have fluctuated, from three-pence half-penny to eighteen pence; but which, calculated at the average price of eight-pence halfpenny, produces a yearly income of not lefs than 400,000 pounds fterling; (which is no defpicable revenue) befides what goes to Rotterdam and Zealand.

This is fufficient to prove that the cultivation of coffee is highly worthy the attention of the planters: and as for the virtues of this excellent berry, without entering into particulars, I will only refer the reader to that highly-approved pamphlet, entitled "A Treatife concerning the "Properties and Effects of Coffee; by *Benjamin Mofely*, "M. D. Author of Obfervations on the Dyfentery of the "Weft Indies;" from which I cannot refift the temptation of extracting the following paffage:—"*Bacon* fays, coffee "comforts the head and heart, and helps digeftion. "Doctor *Willis* fays, being daily drunk, it wonderfully "clears and enlivens each part of the foul, and difperfes "all the clouds of every function. The celebrated

"Doctor

" Doctor *Harvey* ufed it often. *Voltaire* lived almoft en-" tirely on it; and the learned and fedentary of every " country have recourfe to it to refrefh the brain, op-" preffed by ftudy and contemplation."

With the above defcription I muft conclude the obfervations which I have been able to make on fuch of the vegetable productions of this colony, as have offered themfelves to my examination. But fo abundant is the variety, and fo extraordinary the properties, of the trees, plants, roots, &c. of this country, that by far the greater number are as yet perfectly unknown to the oldeft inhabitants of this fettlement, and to all the world befides.

A few years ago a Count *Gentelly*, an ingenious nobleman, travelled through the defarts of Guiana with fome Indians, and had acquired confiderable knowledge in this his favourite ftudy. But alas! his labours, which promifed fair to be of material benefit to the Botanic Society, and to mankind in general, were interrupted by a fever, which, owing to his exceffive fatigue, he caught at the River Correntine, and cut him off in the midft of his ufeful and entertaining refearches.

Having now concluded my account of the different productions of the colony, particularly cotton, fugar, cacao, indigo, and coffee, to which it is indebted for its riches; and having once more repeated that the different trees, fhrubs, plants, roots, gums, and perfumes, are equally as innumerable as they are excellent; I cannot have a fairer opportunity of fulfilling my promife of

ſubmitting to the reader a few conſiderations, by an attention to which I cannot help thinking that not only Surinam, but the Weſt India colonies in general, might accumulate wealth to themſelves, and promote the permanent happineſs of the ſlaves that are under their ſubjection, without having recourſe to the *Coaſt of Guinea* to ſupply the almoſt hourly conſumption of that unfortunate people. But before I proceed, it will be neceſſary to ſtate the manner in which the negro ſlaves *are* diſtributed and treated, by the cuſtoms of this ſettlement only, without adverting to the diſtribution or government of them in other colonies; from which, however, thoſe may equally derive ſome profit;—and then I ſhall endeavour to point out how, in my opinion, they *ought* to be diſtributed and treated, according to the laws, not only of humanity but of common ſenſe.

I have before obſerved that in Surinam there are ſuppoſed to be on an average about 75,000 negro ſlaves of all denominations, which (allowing them, for the ſake of a round number, to amount to 80,000) are here diſtributed in the following extraordinary manner, *viz.* The plantations, being about 800 in number, though ſome have but 24 negroes, and others 400, we will ſuppoſe them to poſſeſs 100 ſlaves each, which complement is exactly the above number of 80,000 people. Theſe are employed in this ſettlement as follows; the firſt column of figures alluding to *one* eſtate, the ſecond ditto to *eight hundred.*

EMPLOY-

EMPLOYMENTS.

	On One Estate.	On 800 Estates.
Four boys or male servants to attend about the house - - - - - - - -	4	3,200
Maids or female servants to wash, sew, iron, &c. -	4	3,200
A cook for the planter, overseer, &c. - - -	1	800
A fowler, or huntsman, to provide game for the table - - - - - - - -	1	800
A fishing negro to provide fish for ditto - -	1	800
A gardener to provide the table and the flower garden - - - - - - - -	1	800
To attend the bullocks and horses on the estate -	1	800
To attend the sheep on the estate - - -	1	800
To attend the hogs on the estate - - -	1	800
To attend the poultry that is on the estate - -	1	800
Carpenter negroes, to build houses, boats, &c. -	6	4,800
Cooper negroes, to make and repair hogsheads -	2	1,600
A mason, to build and repair the brick foundations	1	800
At Paramaribo, some to trades, others for shew -	15	12,000
A negro surgeon, to attend the sick negroes - -	1	800
Sick and incurable, that are in the hospitals - -	10	8,000
A nurse for the negro children that cannot be with their parents - - - - - - -	1	800
Children under age, that can do no work of any kind - - - - - - - -	16	12,800
Superannuated negroes, worn out by slavery -	7	5,600
To work in the fields no more than 25 miserable wretches - - - - - - -	25	20,000
Total, or compleat number of slaves in the colony	100	80,000

By

CHAP. XXIX.

By this it appears, that no more than 20,000, or only one-fourth of the whole number, are condemned to do all the labour of the fields, on whom it may be ſaid chiefly falls the dreadful lot of untimely mortality that I have formerly mentioned. Now it is evident, that if the 50,000 able-bodied ſlaves that are in the colony of Surinam were put to equal drudgery, the mortality, which is now at the rate of five *per cent.* would then increaſe to at leaſt the number of twelve out of every hundred, and would compleatly extirpate the whole maſs in little more than eight years time.

Having thus at an average demonſtrated how they are diſtributed, I muſt briefly obſerve, that while full 30,000 live better than the common people of England, and near 30,000 are kept in idleneſs, and do no work in the fields; the remaining 20,000 may be claſſed (that is in general) among the moſt miſerable wretches on earth; and are worked, ſtarved, inſulted, and flogged to death, without being ſo much as allowed to complain for redreſs, without being heard in their own defence, without receiving common juſtice on any occaſion, and thus may be conſidered as dead-alive, ſince cut off from all the common privileges of human ſociety.

I will now proceed, by candidly aſking the world, If the above is not an improper and ſenſeleſs miſapplication, not only of wealth, but of human life and labour; which, only by a proper diſtribution and management, might accumulate the one and relieve the other?

Now

Now would this inconſiderate colony but give up their habits of pride and luxury, nay, in a moderate degree, 20,000 negroes at leaſt might be added to thoſe now labouring in the fields, which (providing the whole were treated with leſs ſeverity) muſt at the ſame time keep the above ſuperfluous number of idlers employed; and by aſſiſting the others in their neceſſary occupations, could not but tend greatly to prevent that ſhocking mortality, to which they are at preſent expoſed by unbounded ill-uſage and barbarity.

But every reform muſt begin at that which is the ſource of *manners* as well as of *juſtice*; and thoſe therefore who are entruſted with the executive government ſhould have no temptation to overlook the breaches of a *law*, while it ought to be a ſacred and invariable rule never to allow either the governor or the magiſtrates of ſuch a colony to be the proprietors of more ſlaves than merely a limited number, to attend on their perſons, according to their ranks: ſince more than once, even to *my* obſervation, it has occurred that thoſe who made, and thoſe who were appointed to enforce the laws, have been the firſt that *broke them*, for the paltry benefit of cauſing their negroes to work on a Sunday, or to follow the bent of their unbounded paſſions; from which ſhameful example from the magiſtrate, the contagion muſt neceſſarily ſpread among the individuals.

Let the *governor* and principal *magiſtrates*, therefore, be ſent out from Europe; let them be gentlemen of fortune and education; and, above all, men

of liberal minds, men that are firm and proof againſt the allurement of a bribe, or the glittering of gold, and whoſe paſſions are reſtrained by ſentiment and manly feelings. Let theſe men be handſomely rewarded by that nation whom they ſo materially ſerve, and the colony which they ſo conſpicuouſly protect; but let their ſalaries be aſcertained, without depending on the blood and ſweat of the miſerable Africans. Then let ſuch men enact impartial regulations, by which the negro ſlaves are to perform no more than their fair taſk and labour a reaſonable number of hours in the twenty-four: let theſe be followed by protecting laws, and let them be no longer racked, tormented, wantonly murdered, or infamouſly robbed of all that is dear to the human affections, their wives and daughters. Let regulations be adopted, by which they may be properly fed, and attended to when ſick or indiſpoſed; and, above all, let equal juſtice be adminiſtered; ſuffer them, when outraged or plundered, to obtain a hearing; permit them to complain, and enable them to prove by *evidence* the grievances by which they are oppreſſed. Even give them what we ſo much value ourſelves, AN INDEPENDANT JUDGE, and AN IMPARTIAL JURY, nay, partly compoſed of their own ſable companions. Thus, would you have them work and act like *men*, firſt ſuffer them to be *ſuch*.

When regulations conform to theſe ſhall be adopted and enforced, then I venture to ſay, that nations will feel the benefit of their colonies—then planters will become rich, and their overſeers become honeſt; then ſlavery will be little

more

more than a name; and ſubjects will, with pleaſure, fulfil their limited taſk: then, and not till then, will population ſufficiently encreaſe for the neceſſary work, and the execrable *Guinea* trade be *totally* aboliſhed, which is now too frequently carried on with barbarity and unbounded uſurpation. Then the maſter will with pleaſure look on his ſable ſubjects as on his children, and the principal ſource of his happineſs, while the negroes will bleſs the day their anceſtors did firſt ſet foot on *American* ground.

Having thus, according to my opinion, pointed out the way, and the only way (if well conſidered) to redreſs the grievances of this and many other colonies, I would alſo recommend to *planters* and *overſeers* in general, to peruſe with attention a ſmall work, entitled "Letters to "a young Planter; or Obſervations on the Management "of a Sugar Plantation: to which is added, the Planter's "Calendar. Written on the Iſland of Grenada, by an old "Planter," and publiſhed in London in 1785, 8vo. price One Shilling and Sixpence, and ſold by *Strachan*.

Let them next take an example by that incomparable woman Mrs. *Godefroy*, by Mr. *Thomas Palmer*, and a few others, who conſider their ſlaves as their fellow-creatures, without paying the ſmalleſt regard either to their paganiſm or complexion; and who increaſe both their wealth and their happineſs by their humanity.—I will now once more proceed with my narrative.

On the 16th, being invited to dine with his excellency the governor, I laid before him my collection of drawings,

CHAP. XXIX.

ings, and remarks on the colony of Surinam, which I had the satisfaction to see him honour with the highest approbation. I then returned him my thanks, not only for the material assistance he had afforded me in completing this work, but for the unlimited marks of regard and distinction with which he had treated me from first to last, during the whole time I resided in Guiana.

Availing myself of his friendship, I ventured, two days after, to give him the following very uncommon *request*, praying him to lay it before the court; which, with a smile on his countenance, and a hearty shake by the hand, he actually promised me to perform; *viz.*

"I, the under-subscribed, do pledge my *word of honour*, "(being all I possess in the world besides my pay) as *bail*, "that if my late ardent request to the court for the emanci-"pation of my dear boy JOHNNY STEDMAN be granted, the "said boy shall never to the end of his life become a charge "to the colony of Surinam.

(Signed) "JOHN G. STEDMAN."

"*Paramaribo*,
"*Feb.* 18*th*, 1777.

Having now done the utmost that lay in *my* power, I for several days waited the result with anxiety, but without meeting with the smallest hopes of success; thus, with a broken heart, I was obliged at last to give him (sweet fellow) over for lost, or take him with me to Europe, which must have been plunging a dagger in the bosom of his mother.

While

CHAP. XXIX.

While I remained in this ſituation, the tranſport ſhips were put in commiſſion on the 26th for our departure, and I myſelf ordered as one of the commiſſaries to ſee them wooded and watered; the officers were alſo cleared their arrears, and thirteen men diſcharged at their own deſire, to puſh their fortune at Paramaribo. I ought here not to omit, that the induſtrious Colonel Fourgeoud once more paid us all in paper, by which, as uſual, we loſt ten *per cent.*; which, by letting the Jews have the gold and ſilver, he prudently lodged in his own pocket; and while the many hundreds of florins allowed us by government to defray exciſe duties, taxes, &c. were never brought to account, or, rather, we were forbidden to enquire after them at all. Theſe were trifles indeed, when divided among ſo many gentlemen; but, in *one* ſolid maſs, they were no contemptible picking.

On the 1ſt of March a ſerjeant arrived from the camp at the Caſſeepore Creek, in Rio Cottica, where the laſt-arrived troops were hourly dying away; and brought the almoſt incredible account, that the man I mentioned to have been *loſt in the woods* on the 10th of February, was actually returned, after having been miſſing *ſix-and-twenty days*, nine of which he ſubſiſted on a few pounds of ruſk biſcuit, and ſeventeen on nothing at all but water. He added, that he had entirely loſt his voice, and was reduced to a perfect ſkeleton: however, by the care taken of him by the officers, there were ſtill hopes of his life. Should any

CHAP. XXIX.

any person hesitate to believe this extraordinary fact, let them read Monsieur Godin's well-authenticated letter to his friend *Monsieur de la Condamine*, wherein he gives an account of the dreadful sufferings of his lady during her route from *Rio Hamba* to *Laguna*, through the woods of South America, in October 1769; where a delicate woman, after being deserted by the Indian guides, and after both her brothers had fallen martyrs to their hardships and misery, subsisted *ten days* alone in a wild forest without food, without knowing where she was, and surrounded with tigers, serpents, and dangers of every description: I say, let them only read the narrative of this lady's sufferings, and their credulity will no longer be staggered at what I myself have related. I have, indeed, even omitted facts, which, on account of their singularity, must in the eyes of some have appeared to border on the marvellous. But in the forests of South America such extraordinary realities are to be found, that there is assuredly no need to have recourse to fiction or the least exaggeration.]

Who, for instance, would believe, that almost a whole detachment of eighty marines, one day marching through a thick wood, imagined to a man that they were stepping one after another over a large fallen tree, that obstructed their way; till at length it began to move, and proved to be no other than a full grown serpent of the *aboma* kind, measuring, according to Colonel Fourgeoud's computation, between *thirty* and *forty* feet in length? yet this

is

is an indubitable truth. The above animal was neither killed nor hurt; the Colonel ordering the remaining party to form in a half circle and march around it, in order that they themſelves at the ſame time might eſcape every danger from the monſter's matchleſs ſtrength.

In this place I ſhall mention another extraordinary circumſtance, which is, that one morning Colonel Fourgeoud reſting in his hammock, with one hand careleſsly leaning over the ſide, a large *rattle-ſnake* that lay coiled up among the long graſs which was under it, was actually ſevered in two by the ſentinel, during the very moment of action that it made a ſpring to bite him: of which the ſoldier, whoſe name was *John Kieſhaber*, had been appriſed firſt by the ſound of its rattle, and next by ſeeing the ſnake's head erected, while it was brandiſhing its forked tongue.

As I am treating of theſe reptiles, I cannot reſiſt the temptation of inſerting a fact, which I learned from Mr. *Francis Rowe* of Philadelphia, a reſpectable old man; who informed me, that riding out one morning to viſit a friend, his horſe refuſed to go forward, being terrified at a large rattle-ſnake that lay acroſs the road. Mr. Rowe having heard of its power of faſcination, in which he was a believer, alighted to lead the animal round it; but during that time the ſnake, having coiled himſelf up, ſounded its rattle, and ſtared him ſo full in the face, and with ſuch fire in its eyes, that the cold ſweat broke out upon him; thus, whilſt he durſt neither retreat or advance, he

CHAP. XXIX.

he imagined himfelf gradually rivetted to the fpot. "However," continued he, "my reafon remained; and "my refolution getting the better of my alarm, I fud-"denly approached him, and with one ftroke of my "cudgel knocked out his brains."

On the 3d of March my friend de Graaf failed for Holland, but firft for St. Euftatia, where his brother was governor; and to my great fatisfaction took with him Joanna's youngeft brother, *Henry*, for whom he has fince obtained his freedom. I failed with them down the river as far as Bram's Point, and wifhed them a fuccefsful voyage. As I here went afhore in a fifhing-boat, I was tempted to leap into the fea, and enjoy the cooling and healthy pleafure of fwimming in the Atlantic ocean. The fifher-men having caught a quantity of large fifh, I difcovered one among them not yet mentioned in my narrative, this was the *yellow-back*, between two and three feet long, thus called from its colour, which almoft refembles that of a lemon, but the belly is white: the head is very large, with two long barbs; but the body is fmall, and without fcales, like the cod; it is, however, not near fo good, being coarfe and infipid eating. Two other fmall fifhes I alfo faw in the boat, the one called here the *weepee*, refembling a whip-lafh; he other *waracoo*, which is a delicate eating, but has nothing in its form or habits deferving a particular defcription.

The 8th of March, being the Prince of Orange's birth-

day,

day, it was celebrated at the head quarters; where, after dinner, in the court ledge, hearing Captain *Bolts* in an undeserved manner censured by the colonel's adjutant, for recommending one of the young volunteers of an excellent character, but who had no friends to support him*, I broke through the ring that surrounded them in a passion, and not being able to restrain myself, publicly reproved the aggressor, even in Fourgeoud's presence, when a furious altercation and very high words immediately ensued; the consequence of which was, that next morning at sun-rise *we* walked to the savannah without seconds, where, near the gallows, we drew our small swords, and after making a few passes at each other, Captain Van Geurick's point met my shell, which having nearly pierced, his blade snapped in two pieces, and the fortune of war put him entirely in my power. Disdaining, however, to take a mean advantage, I instantly dropped my small sword, and desired him to step home and replace his own, in order to renew the battle: but this proposal he was pleased to call so generous, that taking me by the hand, he requested a renewal of friendship; thus acknowledging we had been too hasty on both sides, we went to visit poor Bolts, who knew nothing of our morning's walk, and was (though not without difficulty) persuaded also to enter into the amicable treaty: by which a second rencounter was happily prevented, and a general reconciliation took place.

* A Mr. *Sheffer*, already named, who had served with honour from first to last, on the pay of a private soldier, during this painful expedition.

 On

CHAP. XXIX.

On the 10th, having ſpent moſt of the day with the governor, I in the evening went on board the ſhips with Captain Bolts, to inſpect the preparations for the voyage; where we found that the mice and rats had made ſuch havock among our proviſion, with which we were *now* very well ſtocked, that I was under the neceſſity of procuring half a dozen *cats* to deſtroy them, which uſeful animals are in Surinam neither ſo plenty, nor ſo good, as in Europe, being lazy and indolent, on account of the climate. I obſerved they were alſo ſmaller and ranker, with remarkably long muzzles and ſharp ears.

The following day I was ſhocked and ſurpriſed beyond the power of expreſſion, at ſeeing a *Miſs Jettee de la Mare*, daughter to the lately deceaſed gentleman of that name, a lovely mulatto girl, aged fourteen, who had been chriſtened in 1775, and educated as a young lady, dragged to court in chains, with her mother and a few more of her relations, the whole ſurrounded by a military guard. I had almoſt attempted a reſcue, when, having enquired the cauſe, ſhe called out to me herſelf, weeping moſt bitterly; and informed me, that "ſhe was "going to be tried by Mr. *Schouten*, her mother's maſter, "for refuſing to perform the work of a common ſlave, "which ſhe was utterly unable to perform, and could "never have expected, from the footing upon which ſhe "had been educated till that unhappy moment."

By the laws of the country, however, ſhe was not only obliged to ſubmit, but at *his* deſire was condemned, for diſobedience, together with her poor mother, and all her

§ relations,

relations, who had preſumed to ſupport her claim to liberty, to be privately whipped; and had it not been for the humanity of Mr. *Wickers*, who was at that time the fiſcal or town clerk, and ſince was governor, this infamous ſentence would moſt certainly have been put in execution. The unfortunate Miſs Jettee de la Mare was, from this period, nevertheleſs forced to ſubmit to the tyranny of her unmanly maſter, while pitied by all her acquaintance, and lamented by every ſtranger that was a witneſs to the inhuman tranſaction.

Such were the fatal conſequences of not having been timely emancipated; and ſuch were they indeed, that they made me tremble for my little boy. Happily my uneaſineſs was not of long duration; for, however improbable and unexpected, I was ſurprized on the very ſame day with a polite meſſage from the governor and the court, acquainting me that, "having taken my former "ſervices into conſideration, together with my humanity "and gallantry, in offering my *honour* as bail to ſee my "child, before I left him, made a free citizen of the world; "they had unanimouſly decreed, without farther ceremony or expence, to compliment me with a letter, "which was at the ſame time officially preſented to me, "containing HIS EMANCIPATION FROM THAT DAY, FOR "EVER AFTER."

No man could be more ſuddenly tranſported from woe to happineſs than I was at this moment; while his poor mother ſhed tears for joy and gratitude; the more ſo, as we had loſt all hopes, and the favour came perfectly unexpected,

CHAP. XXIX.

expected, and while near forty beautiful boys and girls were left to perpetual ſlavery by their parents of my acquaintance, and many of them without being ſo much as once enquired after at all.

What is moſt extraordinary indeed is, that while the well-thinking few highly applauded my ſenſibility, many not only blamed, but publicly derided me for my paternal affection, which was called a weakneſs, a whim. So extravagant was my joy on this day, however, at having acted the reverſe part of *Inkle* to *Yarico*, that I became like one frantic with pleaſure. I not only made my will in his favour (though, God knows, I had little to diſpoſe of) but I appointed my friends Mr. *Robert Gordon* and Mr. *James Gourlay* to be my executors and his guardians during my abſence, in whoſe hands I left all my papers ſealed, till I ſhould demand them again, or they ſhould be informed of my death: I then ordered all my ſheep, poultry, &c. which had prodigiouſly encreaſed, to be tranſported, and put under their care; and making a new ſuit of cloaths for the occaſion, which coſt me twenty guineas, I waited on a Mr. *Snyderhans*, one of the clergymen at Paramaribo, to appoint a day when my boy, my *Johnny Stedman*, ſhould be made a Chriſtian*.

On

* I ſhould not here omit to mention that in the colony of Surinam all emancipated ſlaves are under the following reſtrictions, *viz.*

They are (if males) bound to help in defending the ſettlement againſt all home and foreign enemies.

No emancipated ſlave, male or female, can ever go to law at all againſt their former maſter or miſtreſs.

And

On the 18th Colonel Fourgeoud's remaining troops at last came down from the encampments at Casseepore Creek, and every preparation was made for our departure. At the same time, the extacy of the few surviving marines at their quitting this country was so great, having now also received part of their clearance, that such intemperance, riot, and disorder ensued as produced the most formidable quarrels between them and the troops of the Society, till, some being wounded and some being flogged, peace was finally, though with difficulty, re-established. CHAP. XXIX.

This same day a poor sailor, while I was on board, was drowned in my presence, who fell from the gunwale into the river, with the sheet anchor, which had been neglected to be lashed to the ringbolts. I instantly leaped into a boat to try to save him, but could only get his hat; the man went to the bottom, and never more was seen.

The day of our departure now approached fast, and I gave up my house; when, at Mrs. Godefroy's pressing invitation, I spent the few remaining moments in that which she had prepared for the reception of Joanna and her boy, in her beautiful garden, charmingly situated under the shade of tamarind and orange trees; which house she also had neatly furnished with every accommodation that could be desired, besides allowing Joanna a negro woman and a girl to attend on her for life. Thus situated, how blest should I have been in this spot to end my days!—But fate ordained it otherwise.

And finally, if any emancipated slave, male or female, dies in the colony, and leaves behind any possessions whatever, in that case one quarter of the property also goes to his former owners, either male or female.

On

CHAP. XXIX.

On the 22d, I made it my bufinefs with Captain *Small* (who was come down with leave of abfence) to wait on the Reverend Mr. Snyderhans, according to appointment, but who, to both our great furprize, peremptorily refufed to chriften the boy; alledging for his reafon, that as I was going to Holland, I could not anfwer for his *chriftian* education. We replied, that he was under two very proper guardians: the blackfmith's fon (for fuch was this divine) perfifted, and we remonftrated, but to no purpofe, for he was juft as deaf as his father's anvil, and I believe, upon my foul, quite as empty as his bellows; till at length, wearied out with his fanatical impertinence, I fwore that I would fooner fee the boy die a heathen, than chriftened by fuch a blockhead; while my friend Small could not help beftowing on him a hearty curfe, and, flapping the door with a vengeance, we departed.

Feafting and conviviality now prevailed once more at Paramaribo, as on our firft arrival. Grand dinners, fuppers, and balls were heard of in every quarter. But I only vifited a few of my felect friends, amongft which number had conftantly been Governor Nepveu, and where, for the laft time, I made one of the company at a truly magnificent entertainment, which ended the fcene of liberality and hofpitality, for which the inhabitants of Surinam are fo juftly confpicuous; and on the 25th the baggage was fhipped on board the veffels.

Numberlefs, indeed, were the prefents for the voyage, with which I in particular was now overftocked from every quarter; and my provifions of live cattle, poultry,

wine,

wine, rum, &c. &c. were almoſt ſufficient to carry me round the globe: amongſt the reſt, in a ſmall bottle caſe, containing liquors, I found a cryſtal phial filled with eſſential *oil* of *orange*, and a parcel of what they called here *tonquin beans*.—The firſt is extracted from the rind or peel of the oranges: which is done here by the tedious and laborious method of ſqueezing it between the finger and thumb. A few drops of this on a ſmall piece of ſugar, is ſaid to be an excellent remedy to ſtrengthen the ſtomach, create an appetite, and help digeſtion; and one ſingle drop ſmells ſo ſtrong, that it is ſufficient to perfume a whole apartment. The tonquin beans are ſaid to grow in a thick pulp, ſomething like a walnut, and on a large tree. I never ſaw them otherwiſe than dried, when they bear ſome reſemblance to a prune or dried plumb, and are made uſe of to ſcent ſnuff and tobacco, to which they impart a moſt agreeable odour.

On the 26th, we took our laſt leave of his Excellency the Governor, *en corps*, as aſſuredly was his due; after which all the officers of the Society troops waited on Colonel Fourgeoud, at the head quarters, to wiſh us a proſperous voyage to Holland, and the day was ſpent by a regale, *en militaire*, *viz*. a dinner, as uſual, of ſalt proviſions; but I muſt acknowledge, accompanied with as much good liquor of every kind, as Surinam could furniſh, and a very hearty welcome.

I believe that now a hundred times Fourgeoud ſhook me by the hand, declaring, "That there was not a young "man

CHAP. XXIX.

"man he loved better in the world; that had he com-
"manded me to march through fire as well as water, he
"was convinced I ſhould never have left it, without ac-
"compliſhing his orders;" with many other fine compliments. But I muſt candidly acknowledge, that though I had a heart to *forgive*, my mind would never permit me to *forget* the many and unneceſſary difficulties and miſeries to which I had been too wantonly expoſed. At the ſame time he informed me, that *he* did not propoſe to depart with us, but intended to follow the regiment very ſoon, with the remains of the laſt-come relief, when he would render me every ſervice in his power. Whatever were his *real* motives for ſuch a ſudden change in his diſpoſition towards me, ſuffice it to ſay, that few people at this time were better friends, than were the old Colonel *Fourgeoud* and Captain *Stedman*.

In the evening I went to take a ſhort farewell of my moſt valuable acquaintances, ſuch as Mrs. *Godefroy*, Mr. and Mrs. *Demelley*, Mr. and Mrs. *Lolkens*, Mr. and Mrs. *Gordon*, Mr. *Gourlay*, Captain *Mackneal*, Doctor *Kiſſam*, &c. who had all (beſides Mr. *Kennedy* and Mr. *de Graaf*, now gone to Holland) treated me with the moſt conſtant and diſtinguiſhed civility ſince I had been in the colony: but my ſoul was too full of a *friend* that was ſtill dearer, to be impreſſed with that ſenſibility on ſeparating from them, that it muſt have felt on another occaſion.— And here I cannot in juſtice omit remarking, that while I gave the moſt impetuous vent to my feelings, not the ſmalleſt expreſſion of poignant ſorrow, or even of dejec-

tion,

tion, eſcaped from Joanna's lips; while her good ſenſe and fortitude even reſtrained the tear from ſtarting in my afflicted preſence. I now once more earneſtly preſſed her to *accompany* me, in which I was ſeconded by the ineſtimable Mrs. Godefroy and all her friends; but ſhe remained equally inflexible; and her ſteady anſwer was as before—"That, dreadful as appeared the fatal ſeparation, "perhaps never more to meet, yet ſhe could not but "prefer remaining in Surinam: firſt, from a conſci- "ouſneſs that, with propriety, ſhe had not the diſpoſal "of herſelf; and, ſecondly, from pride, wiſhing in her "preſent condition rather to be one of the firſt among "her own claſs in America, than a reflection or burthen "on me in Europe, as ſhe was convinced muſt be the "caſe, unleſs our circumſtances became one day more "independent." Here Joanna ſhewed great emotion, but immediately retired to weep in private.—What could I ſay or do?—Not knowing how to anſwer, or ſufficiently to admire her firmneſs and reſignation, which ſo greatly exceeded my own, I determined, if poſſible, to imitate her conduct, and calmly to reſign myſelf to my fate, preparing for the fatal moment, when my heart forebode me we were to pronounce the LAST ADIEU, and ſeparate for ever.

"Zaïre, il eſt trop vrai que l'honneur me l'ordonne,
"Que je vous adorai! que je vous abandonne!
"Que je renonce a vous! que vous le déſirer!
"Que ſous un autre loix——Zaïre vous pleurer."

 The

CHAP. XXIX.

The whole corps being ordered, at ſeven o'clock on the morning of the 27th, to wait on Colonel Fourgeoud at the head quarters, I tore myſelf away from all that was dear to me in this world without diſturbing them, in order to prevent the tender ſcene of parting. He then conducted us to the water-ſide, where the boats lay in waiting; and we were immediately embarked, under a general ſalute, and colours flying, from the fortreſs and the veſſels in the roads. The whole corps now having dined on board the ſtaff-ſhip with Lieutenant Colonel de Borgnes, Colonel Fourgeoud politely invited me to accompany him back to town till next morning; but which, with a broken heart, I thought beſt to decline. He then took his final leave, and wiſhing us all a ſafe and proſperous voyage to Europe, he returned, under a ſalute of nine guns and three cheers, with Captain Van Geurike, his adjutant, back to Paramaribo.

On the 29th of March, at midnight, the ſignal-gun being fired, the two ſhips got under way, and dropped down till before the fortreſs New Amſterdam, where they once more came to an anchor.

Here my friends Gordon and Gourlay, the guardians of my boy, after the convivial Colonel Seyburg (for ſuch he certainly was) had entertained them on board his veſſel, the *Hollandia*, affectionately coming to viſit me, they did no leſs than actually prevail on me to accompany them back to Paramaribo. My ſoul could not reſiſt this ſecond invitation of once more beholding what was ſo dear to me.— I went, and, muſt I ſay it?—found Joanna, who had diſ-

played ſo much fortitude in my preſence, now bathing in tears, and ſcarcely alive, ſo much was ſhe become the victim of melancholy and deſpair. Nor had ſhe partaken of food, or ſleep, ſince my departure, nor ſpoken to any living creature, indeed not ſtirred from the ſpot where I had left her on the morning of the 27th.

The ſhips not being quite ready to go to ſea till two days after, I was prevailed upon to ſtay on ſhore a little longer, with poor Joanna and her boy, which ſeemed to chear her: But, alas! too dear we paid for this too ſhort reprieve! ſince, but few hours had elapſed, when a ſailor abruptly came in, with the meſſage that the ſhip's boat lay in waiting that minute to carry me on board.—At that inſtant—Heavens! what were my feelings!—Joanna's mother took the infant from her arms, the all-worthy Mrs. Godefroy ſupporting herſelf —— her brothers and ſiſters hung around me, crying, and invoking Heaven aloud for my ſafety — while the unfortunate Joanna (now but nineteen) gazing on me, and holding me by the hand, with a look ten thouſand times more dejected than *Sterne's Maria*,—was unable to utter one word!!!——I perceived ſhe was diſtracted—the hour was come—I exchanged a ringlet of their hair, and fondly preſſed them both to my boſom:—the power of ſpeech alſo forſook me, and my heart tacitly invoked the protection of Providence to befriend them.—Joanna now ſhut her beauteous eyes—her lips turned the pale colour of death—ſhe bowed her head, and motionleſs ſunk in the arms of HER ADOPTED MOTHER:—Here I rouſed all my remaining fortitude,

CHAP. XXIX. fortitude, and leaving them ſurrounded by every care and attention departed, and bid GOD BLESS THEM!!!

The boat ſtill delaying a few moments, I now ſtepped up to poor Fourgeoud, ſurrounded by my friends, and graſping his veteran hand, I could not, for my ſoul, but forgive him all the hardſhips he had ever occaſioned me.—He was *affected*. — This was a debt he owed me. — I wiſhed him every good, and finally rowed down the river Surinam.

At this time the ſhips were riding off Bram's Point, where Mr. *Texier*, the deputy governor, came on board to wiſh us a proſperous voyage; and, after dinner, under a ſalute of ſeven guns, together with Captains Small and Fredericy, who had accompanied me hither, he returned back to Paramaribo.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

The Ships weigh Anchor, and put to Sea—Review of the Troops—Account of the Voyage—The Arrival in the Texel—Description of the Pampus near Amsterdam—Final Debarkation in the Town of Bois-le-Duc—The Death of Colonel Fourgeoud—End of the Expedition—Short History of the late Scotch Brigade—Conclusion.

EVERY thing being at laſt perfectly adjuſted for our departure, both veſſels, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel *des Borgnes*, weighed anchor on the morning of the 1ſt of April, 1777, when, with a freſh breeze at E. we put to ſea, and kept courſe N. and N.W.—Motionleſs and ſpeechleſs, I hung over the ſhip's ſtern till the land quite diſappeared: After ſome days, however, by conſiderable exertions, I got the better of my melancholy, though not of my affection, and my mind became once more compoſed and calm. What chiefly contributed to the reſtoring of my peace, was the comfortable reflection, that if I had in ſome meaſure injured myſelf, I had at leaſt done good to a few others, by relieving three * innocent and deſerving young people from a ſtate of bondage. Yet, for this action, I was aſſuredly moſt amply

* Joanna, Johnny, and Quaco.

CHAP. XXX.

rewarded by the preservation of my life, principally owing to their unremitting care and attention, while such numbers fell all around me, and more were ruined in their constitution, the victims of the climate and the service, some having lost the use of their limbs, and some of their memory; nay, one or two were entirely deprived of their mental faculties, and continued in a state of incurable insanity for ever.

In short, out of the number of near twelve hundred able-bodied men, not one hundred returned to their friends and their country: and perhaps not twenty amongst these were to be found in perfect health. Among the dead were (including the surgeons) between twenty and thirty officers; three of which number were colonels, and one a major. So very destructive was the service to Europeans in such a climate; and such ever must be the result of the most successful operations in the unwholesome atmosphere of woods and marshes.

One or two remarks I must make before I conclude this subject, which are:—First, that among the officers and private men who had formerly been in the West Indies, none died, while among the whole number of above one thousand privates, I can only recollect *one* single marine who escaped from sickness; and next, that of the few belonging to the corps that were now on their voyage for the Texel (those gentlemen alone excepted, who at this time belonged to the staff) I myself was the *only officer* who had sailed out with the regiment in 1772. This last was a pleasing

pleaſing reflection indeed, and which could not but render me ſincerely thankful to Providence. CHAP. XXX.

About the 14th of April, having paſſed the Tropicks, and changed courſe to N.N.E. and N.E. we were becalmed for ſome days. I ought not to omit that when in about 15 degrees N. latitude, we ſailed through what is vulgarly called the *Graſs Sea*, from its being covered over with a floating kind of green and yellow weed, called *gulph weeds*; ſome of which, when dried in the ſun, and ſpread between two ſheets of paper, are very curious, reſembling trees, flowers, ſhrubs, &c. and in which are harboured ſmall cruſtaceous fiſh, ſcollops, muſcles, and ſhells of many thouſand different ſpecies. Among the laſt is often found that wonderful ſea reptile, called the *hippocampus*, or ſea-horſe, which I could compare to nothing better than the *chevalier* of a *cheſs-board*; though it is generally larger, and ſometimes eight or nine inches in length. The body is compoſed of cartilaginous rings: the head, ſnout, and mane are incruſted all over; and the tail, which is curvated upwards in the figure of an *S*, terminates in a point.

On the 19th, the calm ſtill continuing, we were daily entertained by ſwarms of flying fiſh, and ſeveral doradoes and grampuſſes ſwimming and tumbling before and after the ſhips, as if delighting to keep us company. The *grampus* is a fiſh of the cetaceous kind; ſomething reſembling the dolphin, but much larger, and approaching the whale in ſize, ſome being near twenty feet in length, and prodigiouſly fat. This fiſh has forty ſtrong teeth; is of

a dark

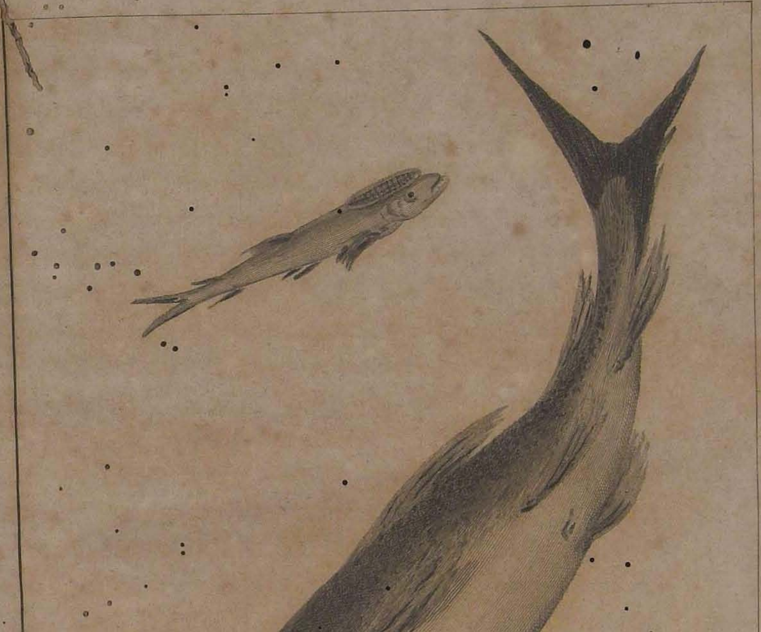
CHAP. XXX.

a dark brown colour, and ſpouts water with conſiderable force. We alſo ſaw at ſome diſtance from the veſſels ſeveral times above the water a large *north-caper*. This fiſh, which very much reſembles the Greenland whale, is more dangerous, on account of its being more active, which proceeds from the body being ſmaller and flatter than that of the former. The jaw is ſhorter, with very ſmall barbs: the ſkin is whiter, and the produce of its blubber amounts ſeldom to more than thirty tons.

About the 22d, the weather began to change conſiderably, and the whole ſhip's company were attacked with a ſevere cold and cough, and many alſo with the ague.

On the 30th, the crew was ſo weak as to be hardly able to do their duty; two of them indeed, and one marine, were already dead and overboard. Colonel de Borgnes was alſo at this time ſo much indiſpoſed, that the command devolved upon me for a few days during his illneſs, when obſerving the other ſhip ahead, and almoſt out of ſight, I availed myſelf of my commodoreſhip, by hoiſting a flag at the main-top, and firing a gun to windward to bring her to, which ſhe punctually obeyed.

A large *ſhark* now ſwimming alongſide the ſhip, we did all that lay in our power to take it, but to no purpoſe. Sharks are in theſe ſeas of different kinds; but what is generally called the white ſhark is the moſt terrible of its ſpecies, on account of its ſize, weighing often one thouſand pounds, and meaſuring ſixteen or eighteen feet in length; the head, which is ſomething depreſſed, is large;



The Shark, & Remora.

London, Published Decr. 1st. 1791, by J. Johnson. St. Pauls Church Yard.

it has two ſpouting holes, and prominent eyes, which it can turn in every direction, and beſpeak the malignity of its all-devouring nature; nearly under theſe are its mouth and throat, of ſuch an enormous ſize, that it will ſwallow a bull-dog: its teeth, which are placed in five or ſix rows, are ſo ſharp and ſtrong, that they will ſnap off a man's arm or his leg with eaſe, which has very frequently happened. The whole ſhape of this fiſh is in every reſpect like that of the dog-fiſh, found in the North Seas, with very ſtrong fins, one dorſal, two ventral, and two abdominal: the tail is bifurcated, the upper part being longeſt; the ſkin is ſlimy, rough, and uſed for what we call *ſhagreen*. The ſhark always ſwims with velocity, but muſt turn upon its ſide to take its prey, by which many fiſh eſcape its jaws.

The *remora*, or ſucking-fiſh, is frequently found ſticking to ſharks, and to ſhips bottoms: this fiſh is aſh-coloured, and long, about twenty inches; the body roundiſh, and tapering near the tail; the fins are placed as thoſe of the ſhark, and the under ſkin is projecting; its *ſucker* is, however, what makes it moſt remarkable, being an oval griſtly plate above its head, with tranſverſe bars, like the palate of a ſheep. This ſucker has ſo much attraction, that no waves, however violent, can beat it off.—*(For both theſe fiſhes, ſee the Plate annexed.)*

The *pilot-fiſh* ought here alſo to be noticed: this is ſmall, with brilliant colours, and is ſaid not only to feed upon the

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

CHAP. XXX.

the gills of the ſhark, but to direct it to its prey, from which ſingularity originates its name.

On the 1ſt of May, being exactly one month at ſea, during which time, by way of making a trial, I had continued bare-footed and bare-headed, without catching cold; I this day, for the firſt time, not only dreſſed like my ſhip-mates, but wore every thing double, and ſome things triple, which I found exceedingly comfortable.

About this time a Mr. *Neyſeus*, one of our ſurgeons, having on board a *crabbodago* or *griſſon* (whoſe ferocity I have already deſcribed) to carry home as a curioſity, the miſchievous creature broke looſe, and in one night murdered all the monkies, parrots, poultry, and other animals that were upon deck, while it drove moſt of the crew who had the watch down the hatchway; till luckily one of them with a hand-ſpike knocked out his brains.

On the 3d, we had hard gales and heavy ſhowers at S. E. Latitude about 40°. From this time the gale daily encreaſed, till the ninth, when the weather began to moderate.

We now ſaw ſeveral porpoiſes, herring-gulls, &c. The firſt is a fiſh about five or ſix feet long, exceſſively fat, of a bluiſh black colour, and without ſcales; the head has ſmall eyes, and no gills, but a long ſnout, and ſharp teeth. The fins are but one dorſal, and two ventral, and the tail is horizontal, to enable it to leap above the water, which it does frequently to blow or breathe, at which time its ſnorting may be heard at a great diſtance. The fleſh

flesh of the porpoise when killed is red, and looks like some kinds of pork.

The *berring-gull* is a bird as large as a tame duck, perfectly white, part of the beak and prime feathers excepted, which are of a dark ash-colour; the eyes are grey, the bill and feet are yellow; the claws are black, and the length of its wings is between four and five feet, from the extremity of the one to the other.

On the 13th, in the morning-watch, being not far from the *Azores* or Western Isles, the vessel was nearly laid on her beam-ends, though then under double-reefed topsails, by a sudden squall at E. At this time a broken top-gallant-mast, a new hand-spike, &c. floated past the ship, the melancholy remains of a shipwreck, which we since were informed to be a Dutch homeward-bound East Indiaman, that had foundered with all the crew near the island of *Terceira*.

On the 14th the wind was violent, carrying away our fore-top-gallant-mast, and splitting the main-sail, while the other vessel lost her bowsprit, &c.; and on the evening of the 15th it blew a perfect storm, accompanied with thunder and lightening, and very heavy rain, which continued during the night, and which brought our main-top-mast by the board, while the ship's crew were so very much reduced as to be hardly able to clear the wreck, in which I cheerfully assisted, by cutting away with a hatchet.

The two following days we continued scudding before the

CHAP. XXX.

the wind, with a reef in the fore-sail, the sea running mountains high, and constantly breaking over the vessel —pumps going day and night; soon after which we saluted the Alarm frigate from Holland, which compliment they returned.

At length, the weather becoming fair, we were carried within soundings, on the 19th, when we hove the lead in ninety fathom water; but the wind shifting to the N. E. with foul weather, we beat about in the chops of the Channel, till the morning of the 21st, when at half past one a signal gun was fired for the other vessel, that we saw the light off Scilly; and at four o'clock P. M. got the pilot on board.

Having been becalmed two days off Dover, it was the 27th before we first saw the Dutch coast: here we purchased some excellent fish from a *Schevelin* boat, with which we entertained the whole crew, though during this sea voyage no ship's company could be better provided.

Having kept off shore during the night, we at last doubled *Keykduyn* and the *Helder*; and on the 28th, at three o'clock P. M. both ships, under a discharge of nine guns, dropped anchor in the Texel roads.

On the 30th, having passed the small island of *Urk*, in the *Zuyder Sea*, which is the *only rock* in the province of Holland, both vessels running before the wind with a fine breeze, *premeditatedly* stuck fast upon the *Pampus*—this is a large bank of soft mire, covered with shoal water, and not far from Amsterdam, which it naturally protects

like

like a barrier from all foreign invaders; ſince all ſhips whatever muſt either be lifted over or dragged through this bank of mud.

The firſt is done by ſinking two concave veſſels, called *camels*, which being chained together under the bottom of an Indiaman or man-of-war, of whatever burthen, the water is pumped out of them, when riſing gradually to the ſurface with their burthen, they carry it to where there is to be found ſufficient depth to keep it afloat.

The ſecond method is practiſed on ſmaller veſſels, and conſiſts of half a dozen ſail boats, called *water-manakins*, towing them through the mud, which can never be done but when ſtraight before the wind: at which time not only the ſhip itſelf, but the boats that have her in tow, muſt crowd all the ſail they poſſibly can carry.

On the morning of the 31ſt, having been becalmed all night, a freſh breeze at E. again ſprung up, when we fired a gun as a ſignal, and five or ſix water-manakins inſtantly came off, by the help of which we were dragged over the *Pampus*, not at the rate of fourteen knots an hour, but at that of fourteen hours a knot, ſince we did not get clear of it in leſs than three days ſailing, though not four miles in length: however, I muſt confeſs, that the laſt day we had ſcarcely any wind at all.

During this tedious paſſage, it was no bad entertainment, to obſerve the contraſt between ſome newly-arrived *Norwegians* and us; thoſe people ſitting upon deck in their

CHAP. XXX.

their ſhirts, and wiping off the perſpiration, while we were ſtrutting in great coats and fur caps, like ſo many Muſcovites, to keep us from the cold.

Having at this time received a conſiderable preſent of refreſhments, ſent by the city of Amſterdam to the deliverers of their favourite colony, and being ſo near revifiting their old friends and acquaintances, all on board were in the higheſt flow of ſpirits, and exulting with gladneſs—excepting *one!*—from whoſe mind every happineſs was baniſhed.

I muſt here ſtill relate the following ſingular circumſtance: A man-of-war's boat coming alongſide the *Hollandia*, the officer and crew no ſooner entered on board, than one of them, without ſpeaking, ran up aloft, with a knife in his teeth, to *cut down the pennant*. At this time Lieutenant Colonel Seyburg, preſenting a muſquet, and ſwearing he would ſhoot him out of the rigging, the poor fellow came down by the back-ſtays like a ſhot, to our great entertainment; next, having explained to him that both veſſels had been put in commiſſion by the Prince of Orange, the amazed lieutenant made a handſome apology, and left the ſhip.

On the 3d of June, every thing being in readineſs, the troops were put on board ſix lighters, appointed to tranſport them to *Bois-le-Duc*, in which town they were next to be compleated, and do the duty as part of the garriſon. On leaving the veſſels we were once more ſaluted

with

with nine guns from each; which having returned with three cheers, we ſet ſail for the place above mentioned. As we paſſed in the lighters through the inland towns, ſuch as *Saardam*, *Haerlem*, and *Tergow*, I thought them truly magnificent, particularly the glaſs painting in the great church of the latter; but their inhabitants, who crouded about us, from curioſity to ſee us, appeared but a diſguſting aſſemblage of ill-formed and ill-dreſſed rabble, ſo much had my prejudices been changed by living among the Indians and blacks: their eyes ſeemed to reſemble thoſe of a pig; their complexions were like the colour of foul linen; they ſeemed to have no teeth, and to be covered over with rags and dirt. This prejudice, however, was not againſt theſe people only, but againſt all Europeans in general, when compared to the ſparkling eyes, ivory teeth, ſhining ſkin, and remarkable cleanlineſs of thoſe I had left behind me. But the moſt ludicrous circumſtance was, that during all this we never once conſidered the truly extraordinary figure that we made ourſelves, being ſo much ſun-burnt and ſo pale, that we were nearly the colour of dried parchment, by heat and fatigue; and ſo thin, that we looked like moving ſkeletons; to which I may add, that having lived ſo long in the woods, we had perfectly the appearance of wild people; and I in particular, very deſervedly, obtained the characteriſtic title of *le Sauvage Anglois*, or the Engliſh ſavage.

CHAP. XXX.

In this ſtate we arrived, on the 9th, at the town of

CHAP. XXX.

of Bois-le-Duc, where the troops were finally disembarked.

> "Per varios casus, & tot discrimina rerum,
> "Pervenimus ad Latium."——
> —— "Olim meminisse juvabit."

Thus ended, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary expeditions that was ever undertaken by European troops; and to which only the exploits of the American Buccaneers have any, and even that a very distant, resemblance.

On our arrival I found that Lieutenant Colonel *Westerlo*, who went sick to Europe, in 1773, was not yet quite recovered. This gentleman now invited me, in company with some others, to dine with him at the public mess; where, while some Dutch officers complained that the soup was smoaky, and the beef was tough, we adventurers declared that we never had tasted a more delicious repast; and at the same time, while they praised the strawberries, cherries, and other European fruits, we thought them very indifferent, and greatly inferior to the avogado-pear, the water-melon, and the pine-apple, to which we had been lately accustomed—which shews that every thing in this world is only good or bad by comparison.

The following day we were introduced, on the parade, to the Lieutenant Governor, General *Hardenbrook*, and spent the evening at his lady's card assembly, where I must acknowledge I was charmed with some very sweet faces, fresh as the rose, and the lily, while they were no less entertained with our grotesque appearance, though

we had now borrowed the aſſiſtance of powder and pomatum. CHAP. XXX.

On the 18th the troops were finally cleared with, and paid their remaining arrears, and thoſe who choſe it permitted to return to their *former* regiments. Some of the privates had from thirty to forty pounds to receive, which, ſailor-like, having earned it like horſes, they ſpent like aſſes. Among others, a young fellow of my company, whoſe late regiment chanced to be quartered in the very ſame town, hired three poſt-chaiſes to carry him the length of one ſtreet only, ordering a couple of drunken fiddlers in the firſt, his knapſack in the ſecond, and placing himſelf in the third, ſupported by a brace of the frail ſiſterhood: he was, however, unfortunately ſhipwrecked in his courſe, being run foul of by the *major de place*, who, having broken the fiddles, and ſet the ladies adrift, towed the roaring adventurer himſelf, after a hard tug, to the quarter-guard, where he came to an anchor in the bilboes, till the gale of his diſſipation was quite ſpent, and he had got rid of all his cargo. In a ſimilar manner went moſt of the money which had been earned with ſo much danger, hardſhip, and fatigue.

Now came the time to keep my long-made reſolution of bidding a *laſting farewell* to Colonel Fourgeoud's regiment; from which, on the 10th day of Auguſt, I obtained my free diſmiſſion, having requeſted it, immediately after my debarkation, from the Prince of Orange, who at the ſame time honoured me with a freſh Captain's commiſſion

CHAP. XXX.

commiſſion in the Honourable General Stuart's regiment, which I had left in September 1772; while from that date to this very day my full pay had amounted to little more than four hundred and fifty pounds ſterling, having regularly been ſtopped out of this ſum *ten pounds per annum* for the putrid beef, pork, ruſk-bread, and hard peaſe, that ſo miraculouſly had kept ſoul and body together.

Let me not, however, be conſidered as wiſhing to caſt a reflection on the Dutch nation in general, who indeed omitted nothing for our preſervation and encouragement during this long and painful ſervice: a people whoſe virtues have been for ages as conſpicuous as their valour —*one* man alone was the cauſe of all our ſufferings.

Having now exchanged my blue coat for a ſcarlet one, bought a very handſome horſe, and put Quacò in a brilliant livery, I for the laſt time entertained my ſhip-mates, with whom, without exception, I drank an everlaſting friendſhip: then taking my final farewell of them all, I the next morning ſet out to rejoin the old Scotch regiment, where I was received with the ſtrongeſt marks of joy and unfeigned friendſhip by the corps.

Going now to take my leave of Surinam, after all the horrors and cruelties with which I muſt have hurt both the eye and the heart of the feeling reader, I will cloſe the ſcene with an emblematical picture of *Europe ſupported by Africa and America*, accompanied by an ardent wiſh that in the friendly manner as they are repreſented,

they may henceforth and to all eternity be the props of each other. I might have included Asia, but this I omitted, as having no connection with the present narrative: we only differ in colour, but are certainly all created by the same Hand. Thus, if it has not pleased fortune to make us equal in rank and authority, let us at least use the superiority we possess with moderation, and not only proffer that happiness which we have to bestow on our equals, but let us extend it with chearfulness to the lowest of our deserving dependants.

On the 25th of August I repaired to the palace of *Loo*, in Guelderland, where, by the Colonel of the regiment, I was introduced to his Serene Highness the *Stadtholder*; who not only was pleased to give me a gracious reception, remarking, that by my looks I must have suffered much, but soon after promoted me to the rank of *Major* in the same Scottish regiment.

As I had now the pleasure also to see a few others of my fellow sufferers recompensed after their hardships, I had reason to think the less of our former troubles; thus, instead of indulging in censure, I found a more solid consolation in the triumph of *truth*, which was *brought to light* without my farther interference.

"Magna est veritas & prevalebit."

On the 24th of September I went to the Hague, where I presented his Serene Highness with *eighteen figures* in wax, made by myself, for his museum, which were most

CHAP. XXX.

graciously accepted. They represented the free Indians of Guiana, and negro slaves of Surinam, engaged in different occupations, on an island, supported by a crystal mirror, and ornamented with gold.

I now also, with *his own consent*, made a present of my faithful black boy, Quaco, to the Countess of *Rosendaal*, to whose family I was under very great obligations; and who since, on account of his honesty and sober conduct, not only christened him, by the name of *Stedman*, at my desire, but promoted him to be their butler, with a promise to take care of him as long as he lived; which was particularly grateful to me, being such advantages as I could never have procured for him myself.

Here I cannot omit an anecdote of attachment in this boy:—Having set out by myself on a short journey, I found a crown-piece more than I expected in my purse, and for which I was at a loss to account; till on my return, when I questioned Quaco, he said, "that fearing I might "be short of cash, where people seemed so fond of it, he "had put his five-shilling piece in my pocket."—This action was the more generous, not only in the manner it was done, but being at that time the only crown poor Quaco possessed in this world.

About the latter end of October, I was offered by the directors of the settlement to be sent over as a lieutenant governor to the colony of *Berbicè*, situated next to Surinam. In consequence, I immediately went to *Amsterdam*, to wait on them, and hear the proposals, in which they

indeed

indeed offered me a higher salary, and greater advantages, than they had ever offered to any other gentleman in that situation; but I insisted on having either the *government* if I survived, or a decent *pension* after a certain number of years at my return; which being out of their power, they said, to grant, I declined accepting of the offer altogether, judging it more prudent to recover my health and vigour in Europe with a Scottish company, than to parch any longer under the Torrid Zone, without a prospect of settling at home with honour and a competent fortune. Nor was it long before I perfectly recovered, and became as stout and healthy as I had ever been in all my life: a happiness of which not one among one hundred of my late ship-mates could boast. CHAP. XXX.

Among others, poor COLONEL FOURGEOUD did not long enjoy his good fortune; for he was scarcely arrived in Holland, with the remaining few who stayed some time behind us, than his beloved *ptisan* having failed him, he was one morning found *dead* in his bed, attended only by a negro, and buried with military honours at the Hague.

Not long after this, expired also in Surinam Fourgeoud's mortal enemy, the GOVERNOR of the colony; which vacancy was most worthily filled up by Colonel *Texier*, and since by the deserving Mr. *Wichers* *.

From this period nothing worth recording occurred till

* This gentleman having also resigned, I have the pleasure to acquaint my readers, that in the year 1792, that gallant officer, Mr. F. Frederic (so frequently mentioned in this narrative) and who had some time before re-entered into the service of the Society troops, was appointed Governor of the colony of Surinam.

CHAP. XXX.

till the year 1782, when the Emperor of Germany having retaken the barrier towns from the States of Holland, General Stuart's regiment was the last that evacuated the city of *Namur*, and on the same day the Imperial troops marched in to take possession: after which the Emperor ordered, in the year 1783, all the fortifications to be demolished. Soon after this, the Scotch brigade, the privates of which now consisted of all nations, was naturalized by the States of Holland, that is, formed into three *Dutch* regiments, on account of the war with Great Britain; and this circumstance induced myself and most of the principal officers immediately to resign—as we refused to serve against our King and Country.

Having thus left the Dutch service, on which day, by the Prince of Orange, I was complimented with the rank of *lieutenant-colonel*, the above gentlemen went to England, where, in consequence of their loyalty, they were taken under his Britannic Majesty's protection; and, on the 18th of June, eleven of them, of which number I was so happy to make one, were, by General *Conway*, introduced at St. James's, where we had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand.

On the 27th of the same month, the half-pay was voted for them all by the British House of Commons, according to the rank in which each individual had *actually served* while abroad *.—But, that the reader may have

* The above gentlemen, who were looked upon as being the *real* representatives of his Majesty's Scotch brigade, had their loyalty further rewarded by the revival of that old and honourable corps in Britain, which was since re-embodied under the command of General *Francis Dundas*, and sent to garrison *Gibraltar*.

some

some idea of what is meant by the SCOTCH BRIGADE, and of what they formerly consisted, I will beg leave to insert the following particulars:

"In 1570 this ancient corps first landed in Holland, as "independent companies, commanded by some of the "first noblemen in Scotland.

"In the year 1578 their gallant behaviour, together "with the English, at the battle of *Reminat*, near *Mechlin*, is mentioned particularly by *Strada*.

"In 1579 *Menin* was surprised, and the Spanish and "Walloon guards taken prisoners by Colonel *Balfour*, "with his regiment alone.

"In 1588, at the memorable blockade of *Bergen-op-Zoom* by the Prince of *Parma*, the Scots, under the "command of General *Balfour* and Colonel *Scott*, made "a sortie, and demolished the greatest part of the Spanish "lines, by which the enemy were forced to break up the "siege, with considerable loss of men and ammunition.

"In 1590, at the siege of *Zutphen-Deventer*, *Nimeguen* "and *Hulst*, their bravery is well known.

"In 1593 they shared so much of the glory at the "taking of *Gertrudenberg*, that both General Balfour "and his regiment were highly distinguished by Prince "*Maurice*. The general he made governor to command "the garrison, instead of his brother Prince *Henry*; and "the regiment he appointed, as the most spirited corps, "to defend it.

"In

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

CHAP. XXX.

" In 1599, at the taking of *Bommel*, the Scots suffered " most considerably.

" In 1600 two field officers, eight captains, with above " six hundred private men, were left dead on the field, " after the famous *Battle of the Downs*, near Nieuport, " where both they and the English behaved with the " greatest gallantry; and to the valour of these united " bands was attributed the success of the day.

" In 1601, at the siege of *Ostend*, which lasted three " years, and at which was levelled the whole power of " Spain, nothing could equal the valour and courage " both of the Scotch and English, the first commanded " by Generals Balfour and *St. Clair*, the latter by Lords " *Willoughby* and *Vere*; who, after a great slaughter of " the Spaniards (including all their best officers) forced " the assailants to raise the siege, and retreat with great " shame and confusion.

" During the government of the three first Princes of " Orange, *William*, *Maurice*, and *Frederick-Henry*, the Scotch " behaved with so much bravery, honour and reputation, " that by the last prince (besides many other marks of " distinction which he conferred on them) they were " called the *bulwarks of the republick*.

" The necessary limits of this chapter compel me to " omit many memorable services which were rendered " by this distinguished body of men to the provinces of " Holland; but I cannot overlook the last siege of Bergen- " op-Zoom by the French, in 1747; where, while others

" shame-

"shamefully ran away, one regiment of Scots in the "middle of the town, having twice repulsed the enemy, "fought alone till they were nearly cut to pieces, leaving "fifteen officers and above five hundred privates on the "field."—Such is the history of the late Scotch brigade in the Dutch service; and such were the outlines of its military character, till the day of its dissolution, in 1783.

I must now draw this narrative to a conclusion, by once more mentioning the name of Joanna, and acquaint the reader, that, alas! ——— JOANNA IS NO MORE!!!——

In the month of August 1783, I received the melancholy tidings from Mr. Gourlay (which pierced me to the soul) that on the fatal *fifth* of *November* this virtuous young woman departed this life, as *some* suspected by poison *, administered by the hand of jealousy and envy, on account of her prosperity, and the marks of distinction which her superior merit had so justly attracted from the respectable part of the colony.

But she is no more! — Reader! — the virtuous Joanna, who so often saved my life, is no more!!!—Her adopted mother, Mrs. Godefroy, who bedewed her beauteous body with tears, ordered it to be interred with every mark of respect, under the grove of orange-trees where she had lived. Her lovely boy was sent to me, with a bill of near two hundred pounds, his private property, by inheritance from his mother.—Soon after which expired both his very faithful guardians.

* Her emancipated brother *Henry* underwent the same melancholy fate.

CHAP. XXX.

This CHARMING YOUTH, having made a most commendable progress in his education in Devon, went two West India voyages, with the highest character as a sailor; and during the *Spanish* troubles served with honour as a midshipman on board his Majesty's ships *Southampton* and *Lizard*, ever ready to engage in any service that the advantage of his king and country called for.—But, Oh! —he also is no more, having since *perished* at sea off the island of *Jamaica*.

The effect which the following lines had on the sympathetic and ingenious Mrs. *Cowley*, could alone induce me to intrude them on the Public.—Let this be my apology——Oh! more than bitter task!!!——

AN **Elegy** ON MY *SAILOR*.

LOUD sounds the tempest!—peals of thunder roar;
Tremendous lightnings flash from shore to shore:
Seas dash the shaking rocks—seas mount the flaming sky,
And elements convuls'd, speak dissolution nigh.
Such scenes as these (while tossing on the waves,
True to his duty still) the manly sailor braves;
SUCH WAS MY BOY—(whose eyes could never weep
But for his neighbour's woes) now swallow'd in the deep.
Oh! agonizing pain—pain never felt before—
My manly boy—my *John*—my Sailor is no more;
Still let me mourn with hope——and GOD adore:
With hope, to see my sailor once again
Floating on seas of bliss, thro' th' azure main:
Till then a short farewell—my lovely boy,
Thy shipmates darling, and thy father's joy.

Yet

Yet one ſmall comfort ſoothes (while doom'd to part,
Dear gallant youth!) thy parent's broken heart;
No more thy tender frame, thy blooming age,
Shall be the ſport of Ocean's turb'lent rage:
No more thy *olive*-beauties on the waves
Shall be the ſcorn of ſome European ſlaves;
Whoſe optics, blind to merit, ne'er could ſpy
That ſterling worth could bloom beneath a weſtern ſky.
No more, my dear—no more—(while *ſuch were ſcar'd*)
UNDAUNTED ſhalt thou rock upon the yard;
There, while the ſilver moon gleam'd thro' the gale,
With manly ſkill and courage hand the ſail.
When Fame, who ſcann'd the value of her Tar,
Did make thee ſhine on board a man-of-war
With honor *——while, with equal glory fir'd,
To pleaſe a parent, brother, friend, thou e'er aſpir'd;
Till Death—relentleſs Death—none can withſtand,
To *cut thy cable* ——— gave the LAST COMMAND!!!
Soar now, my angel, to thy Maker's ſhrine,
There reap that prize, due to ſuch worth as thine.
Fly, gentle ſhade—fly to that bleſt abode,
There view thy *mother*—and adore thy GOD:
There, Oh! my Boy!——on that celeſtial ſhore,
Oh! may we gladly meet—and part no more!!!

A PARENT.

* Since the above lines were written, the laſt of his commanders, the gallant Captain *John Hutt*, loſt his life in the memorable action, fought under Admiral LORD HOWE, againſt the French, on the 1ſt of June 1794.—This officer loved my Sailor well; nor was he leſs eſteemed by Captain *Richard Keates*, from whom he had the honour to receive his firſt naval education.

And

CHAP. XXX.

And now farewell, my *friends*, who have been pleaſed to peruſe this narrative of my diſtreſſes with ſympathetic ſenſibility; particularly thoſe whoſe goodneſs of heart can forgive my inaccuracies and foibles.—I ſay, farewell: claiming no other merit whatever throughout theſe pages, than that of having ſpoke the *ſimple truth*; which, if I wilfully have violated, may theſe volumes periſh, and be forgotten with their author!—But ſhould this treaſure, TRUTH, ſo rarely to be met with, be found in this performance:—

"Let one poor ſprig of bays around my head
"Bloom while I live; and point me out when dead."

THE END.

INDEX.

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

A.

ACCOREE negroes, p. 255
Agate, ftone - - 6
Agouti, rabbit - 153
Ajurucurra-bird - 31
Ambulinary leaf - 92
Amphifbœna fnake 196
Ammodites fnake - 263
Annamoe bird - 33
Ants (fire) - - 91
—— large - - 137
—— hillocks - 164
Angola peas - - 97
Ant-bear (great) - 328
—— fmall - - 329
Anana, fruit - - 214
Anaca, bird - - 218
Arnotta - - 20
Arlacacca turtle - 164
Arrowouka Indians 189
Aloe, (American) - 234

B.

Bat of Surinam - 142
Baboon (howling) - 235
Bee-bee wood - p. 115
Beautiful landfcapes 166
Bourracourra tree - 18
Bognara, fhrub - - 235
Boaffy, difeafe - - 274
Black cabbage-tree 164
Blue dipfas fnake - 196
Blue parrot - - 31
Brooms (natural) - 115
Brown heart tree 335
Brazil wood - - 18
Butterfly (blue and red) 22
—— green - 197
Butter of palm-worms 115
—— of piftachio nuts 115
Bufh worms - 183
Bullet tree - - 335
Bercklack tree - 317

C.

Cameleon, lizard 19
Capficum, pepper - 72
Cabiay, animal - 135
Caps (natural) - - 115
Callebafh tree - - 119
Cavey (fpotted) - - 152
Carrots - - 230
Cammewary - p. 182
Cabbage tree - - 66
Cabbages - - 230
Cacao tree - - 206
Caffia tree - - 225
Canavatepy tree - 317
Cacatoo parrots - 30
Cat (tiger) - - 50
Cats - - 370
Cica pepper - - 72
Coflowee tree - - 20
Cow-itch - - 28
Confaka weeree-weeree 29
Couguar tiger - - 50
Coney (Indian) - - 153
Coati mondi - - 327
Coffee tree - - 352
Craffy woodo - - 28
Crabbo dago - 41
Crombeck bird - 152
Cro-cro bird - - 182
Craffy-craffy - - 274
Crefted eagle - - 300
Crane - - 343
Cucumbers - - 230
Curuma fifh - 186
Cutty weeree-weeree 29

INDEX.

Clabbo yaws - p. 275
Cedar tree - - 334
Coffee tree - - 352
Corks - - 115

D.

Dago feeſee - - 45
Date tree - - 156
Devil of the woods - 19
Dogs - - - 80
Dipſas ſnake - - 196
Dea weeree-weeree 29
Ducks (wild) - - 344
Ducolla bolla tree - 335
Dung fiſh - - 172

E.

Eagle (creſted) - - 300

F.

Flying dog, bat - 142
—— lice - - 337
—— ſquirrel - 17
Fennel - - 212
Female papaw tree 243
Fig tree - - 212
Fourmilier - - 330
Fruit (foreign) - - 74

G.

Gado Saby town - 105
Galinas bird - - 234
Goats - - - 39
Gourd tree - - 119
Golden rod - - 212
Gold mines - - 6
Ginger - - - 244
Guava tree - p. 3
Groe groe worms - 22
Griſſon, animal - 41
Green butterfly - 197
Graſs ſparrow - - 218
Gulph weed - - 383
Grampus fiſh - - 383
Green perroquet - 32
Guinea worm - - 275
Gull (herring) - - 387
Graſshopper - - 37
Grapes - - - 212

H.

Hare (water) - - 152
Haddock, fiſh - 242
Hippopotamus - - 176
Humming bird - - 219
Herring gull - - 387
Hippocampus - - 383
Howling baboon - 235

I.

Jabiru crane - - 343
Jaguar tiger - - 49
Jagacaretta tiger - 51
Jew Savannah - 292
Indigo plant - - 303
Iron ore - - 6
—— wood tree - 17
Indian roſes - - 231
Jeſſamine tree - - 230
——— ſhrub - 212

K.

Kook, diſeaſe - - 180
King of vultures p. 299

L.

Latta cacca pepper - 72
Land ſcorpion - 315
Lettuces, ſallad - 230
Leproſy, diſeaſe - 274
Lizard (agama) - - 19
—— ſalamander - 19
—— devil of the woods 19
Lime tree - - 72
Lice (wood) - - 336
—— (flying) - - 337
Locuſt, reptile - - 172
Locus, tree - - 165

M.

Maureecee tree - 67
Mammee apple - 73
Manatee - - 175
Mattakee tree - - 182
Markooree tree - - 182
Marmalade box - 318
Mahogany tree - 335
Mermaids - - 177
Mexican oppoſſum - 325
Medlar tree - - 168
Mineral ores - - 6
Mint, ſhrub - - 212
Monkey (ſaccawinkee) 12
——— wanacoo - 12
——— quatta - 10
——— baboon - 235
Mountain cabbage - 66
Mompee tree - - 168
Monbiara tree - - 181

Murine oppossum p. 144
Musk melon - - - 213

N.

Naey-naey-fessee - 172
Negroes (African) - 250
——— white - - 251
——— two-fingered 255
——— Coromantin 254
——— Loango - 254
——— Gangoo - 267
——— Nago - - 268
——— Kiemba - 285
——— Nsocco - - 285
——— Pappaw - 268
Night owl - - 239

O.

Ouro wisee fish - 172
Oppossum (mouse) - 144
——— Mexican 325
Orlean tree - - 20
Owl (night) - - 239
Orisa rice - - - 318
Offa palmira - - 328
Orange oil - - 375
Onions - - - 230

P.

Parrots (green - - 31
——— blue - - 31
——— caccatoo - 30
Partridge - - 33
Passessee fish - - 186
Pacca, spotted cavey 152
Pacarara coney - p. 153
Pattakee fish - - 172
Papaya tree - - 243
Papaw snake - - 263
Pampus, bar - - 388
Palm-tree (cabbage) 66
——— date - - 156
——— eta - - 139
——— maureecee 67
Palm wine - - 115
Palm-tree worms - 22
Perroquets - - 32
——— green - 32
Pepper cresses - - 230
Pistachio nuts, pinda 73
Pigeon peas - - 97
Pilot-fish - - 385
Philander - - 325
Physick nut tree - 225
Poison tree - - 182
Pomme de canelle - 312
Potatoes - - - 224
Provoost fish - - 186
Plantation (cacao) - 206
——— indigo - 303
——— coffee - 352
Porpoise fish - - 386
Praree-praree fish - 186
Purslane (wild) - - 119
Purperheart tree - 17

Q.

Quata monkey - 10
Quacy Quacy - - 327
Quaciæ, bitter - - 347

R.

Rattle snake - p. 195
Rats and mice - - 50
Rat, coney-coney - 153
Radishes - - 230
Rhemora fish - - 385
Red-breast, bird - 218
— lilies - - 231
— sorrel - - 230
River horse - - 176
Rice - - - 318
Roucow arnotta - 20
Rosemary - - 212
Roses (Indian) - - 231
Rock-cod fish - - 46

S.

Saccawinkee monkey 12
Salamander lizard - 19
Salt of ashes - - 115
Sand box tree - - 164
Sapadilla tree - - 242
Sage - - - 212
Sea cow - - - 175
Seven boom - - 225
Sensitive plant - - 230
Seeparee fish - - 242
Seve jars boontie - 225
Sea snails - - 186
— cow - - - 175
— weed - - - 383
— horse - - 383
— women - - 177
Siliba fish - - 229
Silver mines - - 6
Soete boontie - - 225

Sokay

INDEX.

Sokay fiſh - p. 229
Sour ſap tree - - 242
——— ſmall - 242
Sorrel (red) - - 230
Sun fiſh - - - 60
Spaanſe jaffer - - 37
Scare-ſleep - - 37
Snake-fiſh - - 60
Spotted-cat fiſh - 60
Spider (buſh) - - 93
Shades (human) - 99
Spectre of Guiana - 142
Scolopendra reptile - 167
Snake (ooroocoocoo) 132
——- two-headed - 186
——- whip - - 132
——- dipſas - - 196
——- rattle - - 195
——- papaw - - 263
Snails (ſea) - - 186
Snake-root (Virginia) 225
Strix, owl - - 239
Scorpion (land) - - 315
Snipe - - - 342
Spoon-bill ſhoveler - 343
Shark - - - 384
Squirrel, - - - 17
——— white - - 17
——— flying - - 17

T.

Taibo, wood rat - 40
Tapira - - p. 176
Tayers root - - 224
Tarpoen fiſh - - 229
Tape-worm - - 275
Tamanoir - - 328
Tamandua - - 329
Tea - - - 224
Tiger - - - 49
—— red - - - 50
—— cat - - - 50
Timpany, diſeaſe - 180
Tingee fowlo - - 299
Toecoema worms - 22
Tomate - - 224
Tobacco - - 224
Torro-torro fiſh - 229
Tokay-galinas - 234
Tonquin beans - 375
Turtle (land) - - 163
Two-headed ſnake - 196
Two-fingered negroes 255
Tubboes, diſeaſe - - 275
Tree-frog - - 225
Trochilus, bird - 219

U.

Urk Iſland - - 388

V.

Vampier bat - - 142
Vanillas - - 235
Vielleur, inſect - p. 37
Vultures - - 299
——— king of - 299

W.

Wanacoo monkey - 12
Walking-leaf - - 92
Waracoo fiſh - - 368
Water ſnake - - 143
—— hog - - 135
—— hare - - 152
—— melon - - 213
Weepee fiſh - - 368
Wine (palm-tree) - 115
Wild duck - - 344
Whip ſnake - - 132
White negroes - - 251
Wood-pecker - - 233
Wood-louſe, bird - 234
——————— inſect - 356
Woodcock, bird - - 20
Worms (groe-groe) - 22
Wood rat - - - 40
Worms (tape) - - 275

Y.

Yaws, diſeaſe - - 274
Yellow-back fiſh - 368

Z.

Zurzacka fruit - - 242

Directions

Directions for placing the Plates.

Vol. II.

Plate	XLI.	VIEW of the Hope and Clarenbeck, in Comewina — *facing Page*	4
——	XLII.	The Quato and Sarcawinkee Monkeys —	10
——	XLIII.	Sprig of the Arnotta or Roucou Tree —	20
——	XLIV.	The blue and crimſon Butterfly, and Palm-tree Worms — — — — —	22
——	XLV.	The Anamoe and green Parrots of Guiana —	32
——	XLVI.	The Wood Rat, and Crabbo-dago or Griſſon —	42
——	XLVII.	The Dago Fiſſee, and the Newmara Fiſh —	46
——	XLVIII.	The Jaguar and Tiger Cat of Surinam —	50
——	XLIX.	A Surinam Planter in his Morning Dreſs —	56
——	L.	The Mountain Cabbage and Maureecee Tree —	68
——	LI.	View of Magdenberg and Calays, in Coſaweenica	71
——	LII.	Limes, Capſicum, Mammy Apple, &c. —	74
——	LIII.	A rebel Negro armed, and on his Guard —	88
——	LIV.	Manner of Buſh-fighting, and Gradation of Shades — — — —	98
——	LV.	March through a Swamp in Terra Firma —	104
——	LVI.	Plan of the principal Field of Action — —	126
——	LVII.	The Murine Oppoſſum and Vampier Bat —	142
——	LVIII.	The Agouti and ſpotted Cavey — —	152

LIX. The

Directions for placing the Plates.—Vol. II.

Plate	LIX.	The Hippopotamus and Manati of Guiana, *facing Page*	176
——	LX.	The Camp at Java Creek, and Encampment at Jeruſalem — — —	182
——	LXI.	Indian Female of the Arrowauka Nation —	190
——	LXII.	Green Butterfly and Rattle Snake, &c. — —	196
——	LXIII.	Sprig of the Cacao Tree — — —	208
——	LXIV.	Muſk and Water Melons, and Pine Apple —	214
——	LXV.	The Humming Bird, with its Neſt, &c. —	220
——	LXVI.	Manner of catching Fiſh by the Spring Hook, &c.	228
——	LXVII.	The yellow Woodpecker, &c. — —	234
——	LXVIII.	A Family of Loango Negroes — —	280
——	LXIX.	Muſical Inſtruments of the African Negroes —	286
——	LXX.	View of the Jews Savannah, and Mount Blue-Bergh — — — —	292
——	LXXI.	Execution of breaking on the Rack — —	296
——	LXXII.	Sprig of the Indigo Plant — —	304
——	LXXIII.	Manner of ſleeping in the Woods—the Cottage	324
——	LXXIV.	The Tamandua and Coati Mondi — —	328
——	LXXV.	The Spoonbill and Crane of Guiana — —	343
——	LXXVI.	The celebrated Graman Quacy — —	348
——	LXXVII.	Sprig of the Coffee Tree — — —	353
——	LXXVIII.	Plan of a regular Coffee Plantation — —	354
——	LXXIX.	The Shark and Remora fiſh — —	384
——	LXXX.	Europe, ſupported by Africa and America —	394

ERRATA.

VOL. II.

Page 16,	line 7,	*for* Tiſan, - - - - - -	*read*	Ptiſan.
28,	— 15,	— Siliqua-hirſuta, - - -	—	Siliqua hirſulæ.
31,	— 13,	— Ajuriicura, - - - -	—	Ajurucura.
51,	— 10,	— Jaguanetta, - - - -	—	Jaguaretta.
59,	— 22,	— Godfrey, - - - - -	—	Godefrooy.
127,	— 13,	— *dele* and as was mentioned.		
141,	— 6,	— thighs, - - - - -	—	feet.
153,	— 8,	— warraboſena, - - - -	—	warrabocerra.
174,	— 12,	— de Cabaines, - - - -	—	de Cabanus.
186,	— 4,	— Beekſlied, - - - -	—	Beekvlied.
186,	— 10,	— Paſſary, - - - - -	—	Paſſeſſy.
214,	— 19,	— Hemmet, - - - - -	—	Hamell.
235,	— 10,	— the back, - - - - -	—	the bark.
315,	— 4,	— Saardan, - - - - -	—	Saardam.
319,	— 19,	— Okeor, - - - - -	—	Okero.